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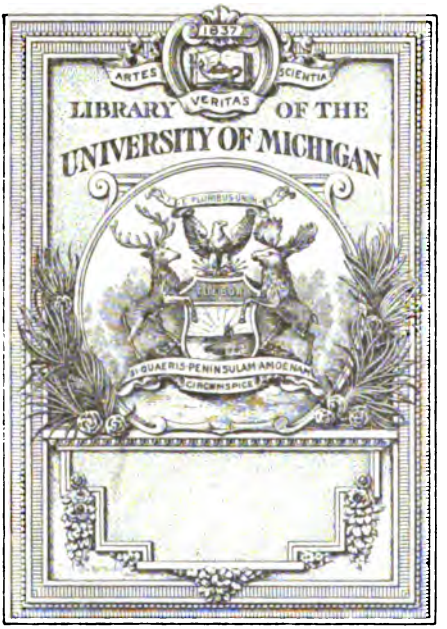
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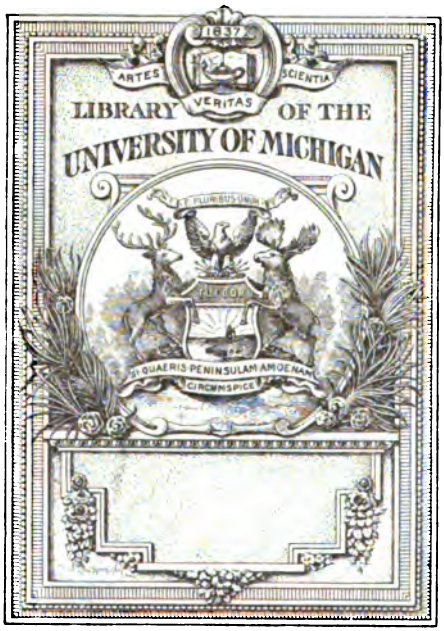
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A HISTORY

OF

DOMESTIC MANNERS

AND

SENTIMENTS

IN ENGLAND

During the Middle Ages.

By THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.,
Hon. M.R.S.L., &c.;
Corresponding Member of the Imperial Institute of France
(Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres).

WITH

Illustrations from the Illuminations in Contemporary Manuscripts and other Sources,

DRAWN & ENGRAVED BY F. W. FAIRHOLT, Esq., F.S.A.

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TO

THE LADY LONDESBOROUGH,

THIS

Volume is Dedicated

AS

A TESTIMONY OF

VERY SINCERE RESPECT,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

To the LADY LONDESBOROUGH.

DEAR LADY LONDESBOROUGH,

The object of the following pages is to ſupply what appeared to be a want in our popular literature. We have hiſtories of England, and hiſtories of the Middle Ages, but none of them give us a ſufficient picture of the domeſtic manners and ſentiments of our forefathers at different periods, a knowledge of which, I need hardly inſiſt, is neceſſary to enable us to appreciate rightly the motives with which people acted, and the ſpirit which guided them. The ſubject, too, muſt have an intereſt for many claſſes of readers, who will be glad to learn ſomething of the manners of former days, if it were only to ſee the contraſt with thoſe of our own time, and to diſcover in them the origin of many of the characteriſtics of modern ſociety. Copious and valuable books have been publiſhed in our language on the hiſtory of coſtume, on that of domeſtic architecture, on military antiquities, on the hiſtory of religious rites and ceremonies, and on other kindred ſubjects, which enable the artiſt to clothe his perſonages correctly; but theſe would form, after all, but the disjointed ſkeleton of a picture, without that further, and perhaps more important, ſort of information which is furniſhed in the following pages, and which will enable him to give life to his compoſition. I have not attempted to compoſe a very learned or very elaborate book. The ſubject is an immenſely wide one as regards the materials, during a large portion of the period which I include; and to treat it completely would require the cloſe ſtudy of the whole maſs of the mediæval literature of Weſtern Europe, edited or inedited, and of the whole maſs of the monuments of mediæval art. But my aim has been to bring together a ſufficient number

number of plain facts, in a popular form, to enable the general reader to form a correct view of Engliſh manners and ſentiments in the middle ages, and I can venture to claim for my book at leaſt the merit of being the reſult of original reſearch. It is not a compilation from writers who have written on the ſubject before.

There are at leaſt two ways of arranging a work like this. I might have taken each particular diviſion of the ſubject, one after the other, and traced it ſeparately through the period of hiſtory which this volume embraces; or the whole ſubject might be divided into hiſtorical periods, in each of which all the different phaſes of ſocial hiſtory for that period are included. Each of theſe plans has its advantages and defects. In the firſt, the reader would perhaps obtain a clearer notion of the hiſtory of any particular diviſion of the ſubject, as of the hiſtory of the table and of diet, or of games and amuſements, or the like, but at the ſame time it would have required a certain effort of compariſon and ſtudy to arrive at a clear view of the general queſtion at a particular period. The ſecond furniſhes this general view, but entails a certain amount of what might almoſt be called repetition. I have choſen the latter plan, becauſe I think this repetition will be found to be only apparent, and it ſeems to me the beſt arrangement for a popular book.

The diviſion of periods, too, is, on the whole, natural, and not arbitrary. During the Anglo-Saxon period, the ſocial ſyſtem, however developed or modified from time to time, was ſtrictly that of our own Anglo-Saxon forefathers, and was the undoubted groundwork of our own. The Norman conqueſt brought in foreign ſocial manners and ſentiments totally different from thoſe of the Anglo-Saxons, which for a time predominated, but became gradually incorporated with the Anglo-Saxon manners and ſpirit, until, towards the end of the twelfth century, they formed the Engliſh of the middle ages. The Anglo-Norman period, therefore, may be conſidered as an age of tranſition—it may perhaps be deſcribed as that of the ſtruggle between the ſpirit of Anglo-Saxon ſociety and feudaliſm. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries may be conſidered in regard to ſociety as the Engliſh middle ages—the age of feudaliſm in its Engliſh form—and therefore hold properly the largeſt

largeſt ſpace in this volume. The fifteenth century forms again a diſtinct period in the hiſtory of ſociety—it was that of the decline and breaking up of feudaliſm, the cloſe of the middle ages. At the Reformation, we come to a new tranſition period—the tranſition from mediæval to modern ſociety. This, for ſeveral reaſons, I regard rather as a concluſion, than as an integral part, of the hiſtory contained in the following pages, and I therefore give only a ſlight ſketch of it, noticing ſome of its prominent characteriſtics. The materials, at this late period, become ſo extenſive, and ſo full of intereſt, that its hiſtory admits of ſeveral diviſions, each of which is ſufficient for an important book, and I leave them to future reſearches. One period, that of the Engliſh Commonwealth, is perhaps of greater intereſt to us at the preſent time than any other, becauſe it was that which totally overthrew the traditions of the middle ages, and inaugurated Engliſh ſociety as it now exiſts. I know that the hiſtory of ſociety at that period has been ſtudied moſt profoundly by a friend who is, in all reſpects, far more capable of treating it than myſelf, Mr. Hepworth Dixon, and from whom I truſt we may look forward to a work on the ſubject, which will be a moſt valuable addition to the hiſtorical literature of our time. Knowing that he has been working on this intereſting ſubject, I have treated this period very ſlightly. I ſhould be ſorry to let my weeds grow upon his flowers.

A portion of the matter contained in this volume has already appeared in a ſeries of papers in the *Art-Journal,* but this portion has not only been carefully reviſed and partly re-written, but ſo much addition has been made, that I believe that more than half the preſent volume is entirely new, and the whole may fairly be conſidered as a new book. I ought to add that one chapter, that on mediæval cookery (chapter xvi.) and the brief notices of the hiſtory of the horſe in the middle ages, firſt appeared in papers contributed by the author to the *London Review.* It muſt be ſtated, too, that the illuſtrations to my chapter on mediæval minſtrelſies were originally engraved for a ſeries of papers on the minſtrels, by the Rev. E. L. Cutts, publiſhed in the *Art-Journal,* and that I have to thank that gentleman for the ready willingneſs with which he has allowed me to uſe them.

In concluſion, dear Lady Londeſborough, I need hardly ſay that the ſtudy of the hiſtories of the people (inſtead of that of their rulers) has always been a favourite ſtudy with me; and that in theſe reſearches on mediæval ſocial manners and hiſtory, I have always received the warm ſympathy and encouragement of the late Lord Londeſborough and of your Ladyſhip. In his Lordſhip I have loſt a reſpected and valued friend, to whoſe learned appreciation of the ſubject of mediæval manners and mediæval art I could always have recourſe with truſt and ſatisfaction, with whom I have often converſed on the ſubjects treated of in the preſent volume, and whoſe extenſive and invaluable collection of objects of art of the mediæval period, and of that of the renaiſſance, furniſhed a never-ending ſource of information and pleaſure. It is therefore with feelings of great perſonal gratification that I profit by your kind permiſſion to dedicate this volume to your Ladyſhip.

I have the honour to be, dear Lady Londeſborough,

Your Ladyſhip's very obedient ſervant,

THOMAS WRIGHT.

14, Sydney Street, Brompton, London,
November 10, 1861.

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HISTORY

OF

DOMESTIC MANNERS AND SENTIMENTS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.—THE ANGLO-SAXONS BEFORE THEIR CONVERSION.—GENERAL ARRANGEMENT OF A SAXON HOUSE.

MUCH has been written at different times on the coſtume and ſome other circumſtances connected with the condition of our forefathers in paſt times, but no one has undertaken with much ſucceſs to treat generally of the domeſtic manners of the middle ages. The hiſtory of domeſtic manners, indeed, is a ſubject, the materials of which are exceedingly varied, widely ſcattered, and not eaſily brought together; they, of courſe, vary in character with the periods to which they relate, and at certain periods are much rarer than at others. But the intereſt of the ſubject muſt be felt by every one who appreciates art; for what avails our knowledge of coſtume unleſs we know the manners, the mode of living, the houſes, the furniture, the utenſils, of thoſe whom we have learnt how to clothe? and, without this latter knowledge, hiſtory itſelf can be but imperfectly underſtood.

In England, as in moſt other countries of weſtern Europe, at the period of the middle ages when we firſt become intimately acquainted with them, the manners and cuſtoms of their inhabitants were a mixture of thoſe of the barbarian ſettlers themſelves, and of thoſe which they found among the conquered Romans; the latter prevailing to a greater or leſs extent, according to the peculiar circumſtances of the country.

This

This was certainly the caſe in England among our Saxon forefathers; and it becomes a matter of intereſt to aſcertain what were really the types which belonged to the Saxon race, and to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe which they derived from the Roman inhabitants of our iſland.

We have only one record of the manners of the Saxons before they ſettled in Britain, and that is neither perfect, nor altogether unaltered—it is the romance of Beowulf, a poem in pure Anglo-Saxon, which contains internal marks of having been compoſed before the people who ſpoke that language had quitted their ſettlements on the Continent. Yet we can hardly peruſe it without ſuſpecting that ſome of its portraitures are deſcriptive rather of what was ſeen in England than of what exiſted in the north of Germany. Thus we might almoſt imagine that the "ſtreet variegated with ſtones" (*ſtræt wæs ſtán-fáh*), along which the hero Beowulf and his followers proceeded from the ſhore to the royal reſidence of Hrothgar, was a picture of a Roman road as found in Britain.

It came into the mind of Hrothgar, we are told, that he would cauſe to be built a houſe, "a great mead-hall," which was to be his chief palace, or metropolis. The hall-gate, we are informed, roſe aloft, "high and curved with pinnacles" (*heáh and horn-geáp*). It is elſewhere deſcribed as a "lofty houſe;" the hall was high; it was "faſt within and without, with iron bonds, forged cunningly;" it appears that there were ſteps to it, and the roof is deſcribed as being variegated with gold; the walls were covered with tapeſtry (*web æfter wagum*), which alſo was "variegated with gold," and preſented to the view "many a wondrous ſight to every one that looketh upon ſuch." The walls appear to have been of wood; we are repeatedly told that the roof was carved and lofty; the floor is deſcribed as being variegated (probably a teſſelated pavement); and the ſeats were benches arranged round it, with the exception of Hrothgar's chair or throne. In the vicinity of the hall ſtood the chambers or bowers, in which there were beds (*bed æfter búrum*).

Theſe few epithets and alluſions, ſcattered through the poem, give us a tolerable notion of what the houſe of a Saxon chieftain muſt have been in the country from whence our anceſtors came, as well as afterwards in

that

that where they finally ſettled. The romantic ſtory is taken up more with imaginary combats with monſters, than with domeſtic ſcenes, but it contains a few incidents of private life. The hall of king Hrothgar was viſited by a monſter named Grendel, who came at night to prey upon its inhabitants; and it was Beowulf's miſſion to free them from this nocturnal ſcourge. By direction of the primeval coaſt-guards, he and his men proceeded by the "ſtreet" already mentioned to the hall of Hrothgar, at the entrance to which they laid aſide their armour and left their weapons. Beowulf found the chief and his followers drinking their ale and mead, and made known the object of his journey. "Then," ſays the poem, "there was for the ſons of the Geats (Beowulf and his followers), altogether, a bench cleared in the beer-hall; there the bold of ſpirit, free from quarrel, went to ſit; the thane obſerved his office, he that in his hand bare the twiſted ale-cup; he poured the bright ſweet liquor; meanwhile the poet ſang ſerene in Heorot (the name of Hrothgar's palace), there was joy of heroes." Thus the company paſſed their time, liſtening to the bard, boaſting of their exploits, and telling their ſtories, until Wealtheow, Hrothgar's queen, entered and "greeted the men in the hall." She now ſerved the liquor, offering the cup firſt to her huſband, and then to the reſt of the gueſts, after which ſhe ſeated herſelf by Hrothgar, and the feſtivities continued till it was time to retire to bed. Beowulf and his followers were left to ſleep in the hall—"the wine-hall, the treaſure-houſe of men, variegated with veſſels" (*fættum fáhne*). Grendel came in the night, and after a dreadful combat received his death-wound from Beowulf. The noiſe in the hall was great; "a fearful terror fell on the North Danes, on each of thoſe who from the walls heard the outcry." Theſe were the watchmen ſtationed on the wall forming the chieftain's palace, that encloſed the whole maſs of buildings (*of wealle*).

As far as we can judge by the deſcription given in the poem, Hrothgar and his houſehold in their bowers or bed-chambers had heard little of the tumult, but they went early in the morning to the hall to rejoice in Beowulf's victory. There was great feaſting again in the hall that day, and Beowulf and his followers were rewarded with rich gifts. After dinner

dinner the minſtrel again took up the harp, and ſang ſome of the favourite hiſtories of their tribe. "The lay was ſung, the ſong of the gleeman, the joke roſe again, the noiſe from the benches grew loud, cup-bearers gave the wine from wondrous veſſels." Then the queen, "under a golden crown," again ſerved the cup to Hrothgar and Beowulf. She afterwards went as before to her ſeat, and "there was the coſtlieſt of feaſts, the men drank wine," until bed-time arrived a ſecond time. While their leader appears to have been accommodated with a chamber, Beowulf's men again occupied the hall. "They bared the bench-planks; it was ſpread all over with beds and bolſters; at their heads they ſet their war-rims, the bright ſhield-wood; there, on the bench, might eaſily be ſeen, above the warrior, his helmet lofty in war, the ringed mail-ſhirt, and the ſolid ſhield; it was their cuſtom ever to be ready for war, both in houſe and in field."

Grendel had a mother (it was the primitive form of the legend of the devil and his dam), and this ſecond night ſhe came unexpectedly to avenge her ſon, and ſlew one of Hrothgar's favourite counſellors and nobles, who muſt therefore have alſo ſlept in the hall. Beowulf and his warriors next day went in ſearch of this new marauder, and ſucceeded in deſtroying her, after which exploit they returned to their own home laden with rich preſents.

Theſe ſketches of early manners, ſlight as they may be, are invaluable to us, in the abſence of all other documentary record during ſeveral ages, until after the Anglo-Saxons had been converted to Chriſtianity. During this long period we have, however, one ſource of invaluable information, though of a reſtricted kind—the barrows or graves of our primeval fore-fathers, which contain almoſt every deſcription of article that they uſed when alive. In that ſolitary document, the poem of Beowulf, we are told of the arms which the Saxons uſed, of the dreſſes in which they were clad; of the rings, and bracelets, and ornaments, of which they were proud; of the "ſolid cup, the valuable drinking-veſſel," from which they quaffed the mead, or the vaſes from which they poured it; but we can obtain no notions of the form or character of theſe articles. From the graves, on the contrary, we obtain a perfect knowledge of the form and

and deſign of all theſe various articles, without deriving any knowledge as to the manner in which they were uſed. The ſubject now becomes a more extenſive one; and in the Anglo-Saxon barrows in England, we find a mixture, in theſe articles, of Anglo-Saxon and Roman, which furniſhes a remarkable illuſtration of the mixture of the races. We are all perfectly well acquainted with Roman types; and in the few examples which can be here given of articles found in early Anglo-Saxon barrows, I ſhall only introduce ſuch as will enable us to judge what claſſes of the ſubſequent mediæval types were really derived from pure Saxon or Teutonic originals.

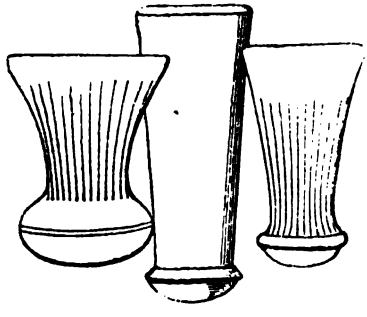
It is curious enough that the poet who compoſed the romance of Beowulf enumerates among the treaſures in the ancient barrow, guarded

No. 1. *Anglo-Saxon Drinking Glaſſes.*

by the dragon who was finally ſlain by his hero, "the dear, or precious drinking-cup" (*dryncfæt deóre*). Drinking-cups are frequently found in the Saxon barrows or graves in England. A group, repreſenting the more uſual forms, is given in our cut, No. 1, found chiefly in barrows in Kent, and preſerved in the collections of lord Londeſborough and Mr. Rolfe, the latter of which is now in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Mayer, of Liverpool. The example to the left no doubt repreſents the "twiſted" pattern, ſo often mentioned in Beowulf, and evidently the favourite ornament

ornament among the early Saxons. All theſe cups are of glaſs; they are ſo formed that it is evident they could not ſtand upright, ſo that it was neceſſary to empty them at a draught. This characteriſtic of the old drinking-cups is ſaid to have given riſe to the modern name of tumblers.

That theſe glaſs drinking-cups—or, if we like to uſe the term, theſe glaſſes—were implements peculiar to the Germanic race to which the Saxons belonged, and not derived from the Romans, we have corroborative evidence in diſcoveries made on the Continent. I will only take examples from ſome graves of the ſame early period, diſcovered at Selzen, in Rheniſh Heſſe, an intereſting account of which was publiſhed at Maintz, in 1848, by the brothers W. and L. Lindenſchmit. In theſe graves ſeveral drinking-cups were found, alſo of glaſs, and reſembling in character the two middle figures in our cut, No. 1. Three ſpecimens are given in the cut No. 2. In our cut, No. 5, (ſee page 8), is one of the cup-ſhaped glaſſes, alſo found in theſe Heſſian graves, which cloſely reſembles that given in the cut No. 1. None of the cups of the champagne-glaſs form, like thoſe found in England, occur in theſe foreign barrows.



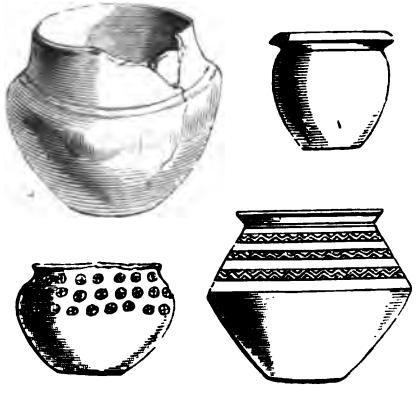
No. 2. Germano-Saxon Drinking Glaſſes.

We ſhall find alſo that the pottery of the later Anglo-Saxon period preſented a mixture of forms, partly derived from thoſe which had belonged to the Saxon race in their primitive condition, and partly copied or imitated from thoſe of the Romans. In fact, in our Anglo-Saxon graves we find much purely Roman pottery intermingled with earthen veſſels of Saxon manufacture; and this is alſo the caſe in Germany. As Roman forms are known to every one, we need only give the pure Saxon types. Our cut, No. 3, repreſents five examples, and will give a ſufficient notion of their general character. The two to the left were taken, with a large quantity

quantity more, of ſimilar character, from a Saxon cemetery at Kingſton, near Derby; the veſſel in the middle, and the upper one to the right,

No. 3. *Anglo-Saxon Pottery.*

are from Kent; and the lower one to the right is alſo from the cemetery at Kingſton. Several of theſe were uſually conſidered as types of ancient



No. 4. *Germano-Saxon Pottery.*

Britiſh pottery, until their real character was recently demonſtrated, and it is corroborated by the diſcovery of ſimilar pottery in what I will term the

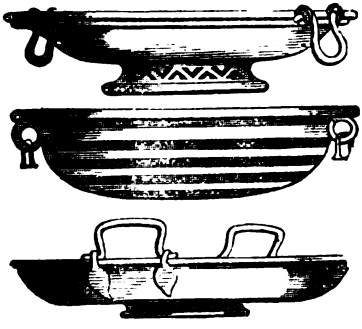
the Germano-Saxon graves. Four examples from the cemetery at Selzen, are given in the cut No. 4. We have here not only the rude-formed veſſels with lumps on the ſide, but alſo the characteriſtic ornament of croſſes in circles. The next cut, No. 5, repreſents two earthen veſſels of another deſcription, found in the graves at Selzen. The one to the right is evidently the prototype of our modern pitcher. I am informed there is, in the Muſeum at Dover, a ſpecimen of pottery of this ſhape, taken from an Anglo-Saxon barrow in that neighbourhood; and Mr. Roach Smith took fragments of another from an Anglo-Saxon tumulus near the ſame place. The other variation of the pitcher here given is remarkable, not on account of ſimilar ſpecimens having been found, as far as I know, in graves in England, but becauſe veſſels of a ſimilar form are found rather commonly in the Anglo-Saxon illuminated manuſcripts. One of theſe is given in the group No. 6, which repreſents three types of the later Anglo-Saxon pottery, ſelected from a large number copied by Strutt from Anglo-Saxon manuſcripts. The figure to the left, in this group, is a later Saxon form of the pitcher; perhaps the ſingular form of the handle may have originated in an error of the draughtſman.

No. 5. Germano-Saxon Pottery and Glaſs.

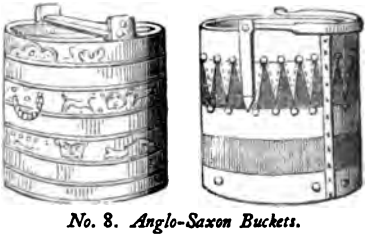
No. 6. Anglo-Saxon Pottery.

Among the numerous articles of all kinds found in the early Anglo-Saxon graves, are bowls of metal (generally bronze or copper), often very thickly gilt, and of elegant forms; they are, perhaps, borrowed from the Romans. Three examples are given in the cut No. 7, all found in Kent. They were probably intended for the ſervice of the table. Another claſs of

of utenſils found rather commonly in the Anglo-Saxon barrows are buckets. The firſt of thoſe repreſented in our cut, No. 8, was found in a Saxon barrow near Marlborough, in Wiltſhire; the other was found on the Chatham lines. As far as my own experience goes, I believe theſe buckets are uſually found with male ſkeletons, and from this circumſtance, and the fact of their being uſually ornamented, I am inclined to think they ſerved ſome purpoſes connected with the feſtivities of the hall; probably they were uſed to carry the ale or mead. The Anglo-Saxon tranſlation of the Book of Judges (ch. vii. ver. 20), rendered *hydrias confregiſſent* by *to-brœcon tha bucas,* "they broke the buckets." A common name for this implement, which was properly *buc,* was *æſcen,* which ſignified literally a veſſel made of aſh, the favourite wood of the Anglo-Saxons. Our cut, No. 9, repreſents a bucket of wood with very delicately-formed bronze hoops and handle, found in a barrow in Bourne Park, near Canterbury. The wood was entirely decayed; but the hoops and handle are in the collection of lord Londeſborough. Such buckets have, alſo, been found under ſimilar circumſtances on the Continent. The cloſe reſemblance between the weapons and other inſtruments found in the Engliſh barrows and in thoſe at Selzen, may be illuſtrated by a compariſon of the two axes repreſented in the cut, No. 10. The upper one was found at Selzen; the lower one is in the Muſeum of Mr. Rolfe, and was obtained from a barrow in the Iſle of Thanet. The ſame ſimilarity is obſerved between the knives, which is the more remarkable, as the later Anglo-Saxon knives were quite of a



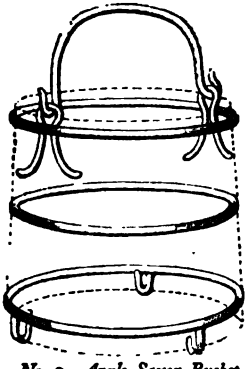
No. 7. Anglo-Saxon Bowls.



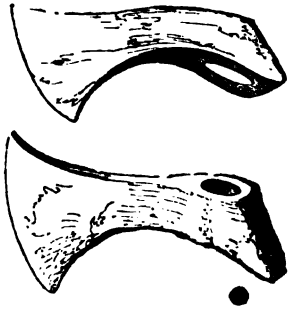
No. 8. Anglo-Saxon Buckets.

different form. The example, cut No. 11, taken from a grave at Selzen, is the only inſtance I know of a knife of this early period of Saxon hiſtory with the handle preſerved; it has been beautifully enamelled. This may be taken as the type of the primitive Anglo-Saxon knife.

Having given theſe few examples of the general forms of the implements in uſe among the Saxons before their converſion to Chriſtianity, as



No. 9. Anglo-Saxon Bucket.



No. 10. Anglo-Saxon Axes.

much to illuſtrate their manners as deſcribed by Beowulf, as to ſhow what claſſes of types were originally Saxon, we will proceed to treat of their domeſtic manners as we learn them from the more numerous and

No. 11. Germano-Saxon Knife.

more definite documents of a later period. We ſhall find it convenient to conſider the ſubject ſeparately as it regards in-door life and out-door life, and it will be proper firſt that we ſhould form ſome definite notion of an Anglo-Saxon houſe.

We can already form ſome notion of the primeval Saxon manſion from our brief review of the poem of Beowulf; and we ſhall find that it

continued

continued nearly the ſame down to a late period. The moſt important part of the building was the hall, on which was beſtowed all the ornamentation of which the builders and decorators of that early period were capable. Halls built of ſtone are alluded to in a religious poem at the beginning of the Exeter book; yet, in the earlier period at leaſt, there can be little doubt that the materials of building were chiefly wood. Around, or near this hall, ſtood, in ſeparate buildings, the bed-chambers, or bowers (*bûr*), of which the latter name is only now preſerved as applied to a ſummer-houſe in a garden; but the reader of old Engliſh poetry will remember well the common phraſe of a *bird in bure*, a lady in her bower or chamber. Theſe buildings, and the houſehold offices, were all grouped within an incloſure, or outward wall, which, I imagine, was generally of earth, for the Anglo-Saxon word, *weall*, was applied to an earthen rampart, as well as to maſonry. What is termed in the poem of Judith, *wealles geât*, the gate of the wall, was the entrance through this incloſure or rampart. I am convinced that many of the earth-works, which are often looked upon as ancient camps, are nothing more than the remains of the incloſures of Anglo-Saxon reſidences.

In Beowulf, the ſleeping-rooms of Hrothgar and his court ſeem to have been ſo completely detached from the hall, that their inmates did not hear the combat that was going on in the latter building at night. In ſmaller houſes the ſleeping-rooms were fewer, or none, until we arrive at the ſimple room in which the inmates had board and lodging together, with a mere hedge for its incloſure, the prototype of our ordinary cottage and garden. The wall ſerved for a defence againſt robbers and enemies, while, in times of peace and tranquillity, it was a protection from indiſcreet intruders, for the doors of the hall and chambers ſeem to have been generally left open. Beggars aſſembled round the door of the wall—the *oſtium domûs*—to wait for alms.

The vocabularies of the Anglo-Saxon period furniſh us with the names of moſt of the parts of the ordinary dwellings. The entrance through the outer wall into the court, the ſtrength of which is alluded to in early writers, was properly the gate (*geât*). The whole maſs incloſed within this wall conſtituted the *burh* (burgh), or tun, and the incloſed

court

court itſelf ſeems to have been deſignated as the *caſer-tun*, or *inburh*. The wall of the hall, or of the internal buildings in general, was called a *wag*, or *wah*, a diſtinctive word which remained in uſe till a late period in the Engliſh language, and ſeems to have been loſt partly through the ſimilarity of ſound.* The entrance to the hall, or to the other buildings in the interior, was the *duru*, or door, which was thus diſtinguiſhed from the gate. Another kind of door mentioned in the vocabularies was a *hlid-gata*, literally a gate with a lid or cover, which was perhaps, however, a word merely invented to repreſent the Latin *valva*, which is given as its equivalent. The *door* is deſcribed in Beowulf as being "faſtened with fire-bands" (*fyr-bendum fæſt*, l. 1448), which muſt mean iron bars.† Either before the door of the hall, or between the door and the interior apartment, was ſometimes a *ſelde*, literally a ſhed, but perhaps we might now call it a portico. The different parts of the architectural ſtructure of the hall enumerated in the vocabularies are *ſtapul*, a poſt or log ſet in the ground; *ſtipere*, a pillar; *beam*, a beam; *ræfter*, a rafter; *læta*, a lath; *ſwer*, a column. The columns ſupported *bigels*, an arch or vault, or *fyrſt*, the interior of the roof, the ceiling. The *hrof*, or roof, was called alſo *thecen*, or *thæcen*, a word derived from the verb *theccan*, to cover; but although this is the original of our modern word *thatch*, our readers muſt not ſuppoſe that the Anglo-Saxon *thæcen* meant what we call a thatched roof, for we have the Anglo-Saxon word *thæc-tigel*, a thatch-tile, as well as *hrof-tigel*, a roof-tile. There was ſometimes one ſtory above the ground-floor, for which the vocabularies give the Latin word *ſolarium*, the origin of the later mediæval word, *ſoler*; but it is evident that this

* The diſtinction between the *waghe* and *walle* continued to a comparatively late period. Halliwell, "Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words," v. *waghe*, quotes the following lines from a manuſcript of the fifteenth century—

So hedouſely that ſtorme ganne falle,
That ſondir it braſte bothe waghe and walle.

† It appears not, however, to have been cuſtomary to lock the doors during the abſence of the family, but merely to leave ſome one to take care of the houſe. This, at leaſt, was the caſe in Winchester, as we learn from the miracles of St. Swithun, by the monk Lantfred.

was

was not common to Anglo-Saxon houſes, and the only name for it was *up-flor*, an upper floor. It was approached by a *ſtæger*, ſo named from the verb *ſtigan*, to aſcend, and the origin of our modern word *ſtair*. There were windows to the hall, which were probably improvements upon the ruder primitive Saxon buildings, for the only Anglo-Saxon words for a window are *eag-thyrl*, an eye-hole, and *eag-duru*, an eye-door.

We have unfortunately no ſpecial deſcriptions of Anglo-Saxon houſes, but ſcattered incidents in the Anglo-Saxon hiſtorians ſhow us that this general arrangement of the houſe laſted down to the lateſt period of their monarchy. Thus, in the year 755, Cynewulf, king of the Weſt Saxons, was murdered at Merton by the atheling Cyneard. The circumſtances of the ſtory are but imperfectly underſtood, unleſs we bear in mind the above deſcription of a houſe. Cynewulf had gone to Merton privately, to viſit a lady there, who ſeems to have been his miſtreſs, and he only took a ſmall party of his followers with him. Cyneard, having received information of this viſit, aſſembled a body of men, entered the incloſure of the houſe unperceived (as appears by the context), and ſurrounded the detached chamber (*búr*) in which was the king with the lady. The king, taken by ſurpriſe, ruſhed to the door (*on tha duru eode*), and was there ſlain fighting. The king's attendants, although certainly within the incloſure of the houſe, were out of hearing of this ſudden fray (they were probably in the hall), but they were rouſed by the woman's ſcreams, ruſhed to the ſpot, and fought till, overwhelmed by the numbers of their enemies, they alſo were all ſlain. The murderers now took poſſeſſion of the houſe, and ſhut the entrance gate of the wall of incloſure, to protect themſelves againſt the body of the king's followers who had been left at a diſtance. Theſe, next day, when they heard what had happened, haſtened to the ſpot, attacked the houſe, and continued fighting around the gate (*ymb thá gatu*) until they made their way in, and ſlew all the men who were there. Again, we are told, in the Ramſey Chronicle publiſhed by Gale, of a rich man in the Daniſh period, who was oppreſſive to his people, and, therefore, ſuſpicious of them. He accordingly had four watchmen every night, choſen alternately from his houſehold, who kept guard at the outſide of his hall, evidently for the purpoſe of preventing

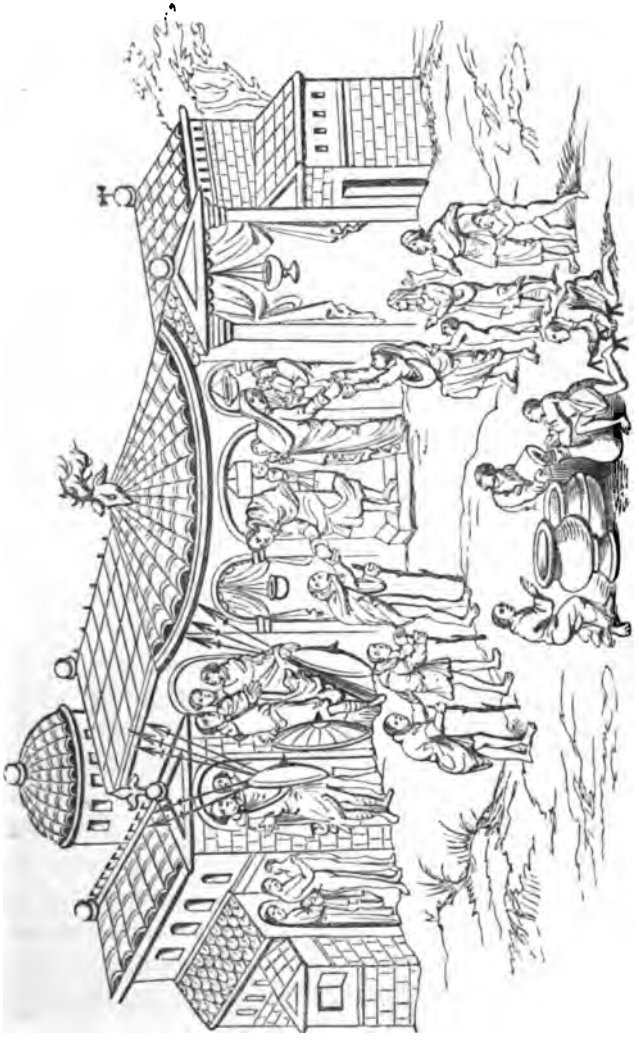
preventing his enemies from being admitted into the incloſure by treachery. He lay in his chamber, or bower. One night, the watchmen having drunk more than uſual, were unguarded in their ſpeech, and talked together of a plot into which they had entered againſt the life of their lord. He, happening to be awake, heard their converſation from his chamber, and defeated their project. We ſee here the chamber of the lord of the manſion ſo little ſubſtantial in its conſtruction that its inmates could hear what was going on out of doors. At a ſtill later period, a Northumbrian noble, whom Hereward viſited in his youth, had a building for wild beaſts within his houſe or incloſure. One day a bear broke looſe, and immediately made for the chamber or bower of the lady of the houſehold, in which ſhe had taken ſhelter with her women, and whither, no doubt, the ſavage animal was attracted by their cries. We gather from the context that this aſylum would not have availed them, had not young Hereward ſlain the bear before it reached them. In fact, the lady's chamber was ſtill only a detached room, probably with a very weak door, which was not capable of withſtanding any force.

The Harleian Manuſcript, No. 603 (in the Britiſh Muſeum), contains ſeveral illuſtrations of Anglo-Saxon domeſtic architecture, moſt of which are rather ſketchy and indefinite; but there is one picture (fol. 57, v°.) which illuſtrates, in a very intereſting manner, the diſtribution of the houſe. Of this, an exact copy is given in the accompanying cut, No. 12.* The manuſcript is, perhaps, as old as the ninth century, and the picture here given illuſtrates Pſalm cxi., in the Vulgate verſion, the deſcription of the juſt and righteous chieftain: the beggars are admitted within the incloſure (where the ſcene is laid), to receive the alms of the lord; and he and his lady are occupied in diſtributing bread to them, while his ſervants are bringing out of one of the bowers raiment to clothe the naked. The larger building behind, ending in a ſort of round tower

* Strutt has engraved, without indicating the manuscript from which it is taken, a small Saxon house, consisting of one hall or place for living in, with a chamber attached, exactly like the domestic chapel and its attached chamber in our cut, No. 12. This seems to have been the usual shape of small houses in the Anglo-Saxon period.

with

with a cupola, is evidently the hall—the ſtag's head ſeems to mark its



No. 12. Anglo-Saxon Manſion.

character. The buildings to the left are chambers or bowers; to the right

right is the domeſtic chapel, and the little room attached is perhaps the chamber of the chaplain.

It is evidently the intention in this picture to repreſent the walls of the rooms as being formed, in the lower part, of maſonry, with timber walls above, and all the windows are in the timber walls. If we make allowance for want of perſpective and proportion in the drawing, it is probable that only a ſmall portion of the elevation was maſonry, and that the wooden walls (*parietes*) were raiſed above it, as is very commonly the caſe in old timber-houſes ſtill exiſting. The greater portion of the Saxon houſes were certainly of timber; in Alfric's colloquy, it is the carpenter, or worker in wood (*ſe treo-wyrhta*), who builds houſes; and the very word to expreſs the operation of building, *timbrian, getimbrian,* ſignified literally to conſtruct of timber. We obſerve in the above repreſentation of a houſe, that none of the buildings have more than a ground-floor, and this ſeems to have been a characteriſtic of the houſes of all claſſes. The Saxon word *flór* is generally uſed in the early writers to repreſent the Latin *pavimentum.* Thus the "variegated floor" (*on fágre flór*) of the hall mentioned in Beowulf (l. 1454) was a paved floor, perhaps a teſſellated pavement; as the road ſpoken of in an earlier part of the poem (*ſtræt wæs ſtán-fáh,* the ſtreet was ſtone-variegated, l. 644) deſcribes a paved Roman road. The term upper-floor occurs once or twice, but only I think in tranſlating from foreign Latin writers. The only inſtance that occurs to my memory of an upper-floor in an Anglo-Saxon houſe, is the ſtory of Dunſtan's council at Calne in 978, when, according to the Saxon Chronicle, the *witan,* or council, fell from an upper-floor (*of ane úp-floran*), while Dunſtan himſelf avoided their fate by ſupporting himſelf on a beam (*uppon anum beame*). The buildings in the above picture are all roofed with tiles of different forms, evidently copied from the older Roman roof-tiles. Perhaps the flatneſs of theſe roofs is only to be conſidered as a proof of the draughtſman's ignorance of perſpective. One of Alfric's homilies applies the epithet *ſteep* to a roof—*on tham ſticelan hrofe.* The hall is not unfrequently deſcribed as lofty.

The collective houſe had various names in Anglo-Saxon. It was called *hús,* a houſe, a general term for all reſidences great or ſmall; it was

was called *heal,* or hall, becauſe that was the moſt important part of the building—we ſtill call gentlemen's ſeats halls; it was called *ham,* as being the reſidence or home of its poſſeſſor; and it was called *tún,* in regard of its incloſure.

The Anglo-Saxons choſe for their country-houſes a poſition which commanded a proſpect around, becauſe ſuch ſites afforded protection at the ſame time that they enabled the poſſeſſor to overlook his own landed poſſeſſions. The Ramſey Chronicle, deſcribing the beautiful ſituation of the manſion at "Schitlingdonia" (Shitlington), in Bedfordſhire, tells us that the ſurrounding country lay ſpread out like a panorama from the door of the hall—*ubi ab oſtio aulæ tota fere villa et late patens ager arabilis oculis ſubjacet intuentis.*

CHAPTER II.

IN-DOOR LIFE AMONG THE ANGLO-SAXONS.—THE HALL AND ITS HOSPITALITY.—THE SAXON MEAL.—PROVISIONS AND COOKERY.—AFTER-DINNER OCCUPATIONS.—DRUNKEN BRAWLS.

THE introductory obſervations in the preceding chapter will be ſufficient to ſhow that the mode of life, the veſſels and utenſils, and even the reſidences of the Anglo-Saxons, were a mixture of thoſe they derived from their own forefathers with thoſe which they borrowed from the Romans, whom they found eſtabliſhed in Britain. It is intereſting to us to know that we have retained the ordinary forms of pitchers and baſins, and, to a certain degree, of drinking veſſels, which exiſted ſo many centuries ago among our anceſtors before they eſtabliſhed themſelves in this iſland. The beautiful forms which had been brought from the claſſic ſouth were not able to ſuperſede national habit. Our modern houſes derive more of their form and arrangement from thoſe of our Saxon forefathers than from any other ſource. We have ſeen that the original Saxon arrangement of a houſe was preſerved by that people to the laſt; but it does not follow that they did not ſometimes adopt the Roman houſes they found ſtanding, although they ſeem never to have imitated them. I believe Bulwer's deſcription of the Saxoniſed Roman houſe inhabited by Hilda, to be founded in truth. Roman villas, when uncovered at the preſent day, are ſometimes found to have undergone alterations which can only be explained by ſuppoſing that they were made when later poſſeſſors adapted them to Saxon manners. Such alterations appear to me to be viſible in the villa at Hadſtock, in Eſſex, opened by the late lord Braybrooke; in one place the outer wall ſeems to have been broken through to make a new entrance, and a road of tiles, which was ſuppoſed to have been the bottom of a water courſe, was more probably the paved path-

way

way made by the Saxon poſſeſſor. Houſes in thoſe times were ſeldom of long duration; we learn from the domeſtic anecdotes given in ſaints' legends and other writings, that they were very frequently burnt by accidental fires; thus the main part of the houſe, the timber-work, was deſtroyed; and as ground was then not valuable, and there was no want of ſpace, it was much eaſier to build a new houſe in another ſpot, and leave the old foundations till they were buried in rubbiſh and earth, than to clear them away in order to rebuild on the ſame ſite. Earth ſoon accumulated under ſuch circumſtances; and this accounts for our finding, even in towns, ſo much of the remains of the houſes of an early period undiſturbed at a conſiderable depth under the preſent ſurface of the ground.

It has already been obſerved that the moſt important part of the Saxon houſe was the hall. It was the place where the houſehold (*hired*) collected round their lord and protector, and where the viſitor or ſtranger was firſt received,—the ſcene of hoſpitality. The houſeholder there held open-houſe, for the hall was the public apartment, the doors of which were never ſhut againſt thoſe who, whether known or unknown, appeared worthy of entrance. The reader of Saxon hiſtory will remember the beautiful compariſon made by one of king Edwin's chieftains in the diſcuſſion on the reception to be given to the miſſionary Paulinus. "The preſent life of man, O king, ſeems to me, in compariſon of that time which is unknown to us, like to the ſwift flight of a ſparrow through the hall where you ſit at your meal in winter, with your chiefs and attendants, warmed by a fire made in the middle of the hall, whilſt ſtorms of rain or ſnow prevail without; the ſparrow, flying in at one door and immediately out at another, whilſt he is viſible is ſafe from the wintry ſtorm, but after this ſhort ſpace of fair weather, he immediately vaniſhes out of your ſight, into the dark winter from which he had emerged." Dining in private was always conſidered diſgraceful, and is mentioned as a blot in a man's character.

Internally, the walls of the hall were covered with hangings or tapeſtry, which were called in Anglo-Saxon *wah-hrœgel*, or *wah-riſt*, wall-clothing. Theſe appear ſometimes to have been mere plain cloths, but

but at other times they were richly ornamented, and not unfrequently embroidered with hiſtorical ſubjects. So early as the ſeventh century, Aldhelm ſpeaks of the hangings or curtains being dyed with purple and other colours, and ornamented with images, and he adds that "if finiſhed of one colour uniform they would not ſeem beautiful to the eye." Among the Saxon wills printed by Hickes, we find ſeveral bequeſts of *heall wah-riftas*, or wall-tapeſtries for the hall; and it appears that, in ſome caſes, tapeſtries of a richer and more precious character than thoſe in common uſe were reſerved to be hung up only on extraordinary feſtivals. There were hooks, or pegs, on the wall, upon which various objects were hung for convenience. In an anecdote told in the contemporary life of Dunſtan, he is made to hang his harp againſt the wall of the room. Arms and armour, more eſpecially, were hung againſt the wall of the hall. The author of the "Life of Hereward" deſcribes the Saxon inſurgents who had taken poſſeſſion of Ely, as ſuſpending their arms in this manner; and in one of the riddles in the Exeter Book, a war-veſt is introduced ſpeaking of itſelf thus:—

hwilum hongige,
hyrſtum frætwed,
wlitig on wage,
þær weras drincað,
freolic fyrd-ſceorp.

Sometimes I hang,
with ornaments adorned,
ſplendid on the wall,
where men drink,
a goodly war-veſt.—Exeter Book, p. 395.

We have no alluſion in Anglo-Saxon writers to chimneys, or fire-places, in our modern acceptation of the term. When neceſſary, the fire ſeems to have been made on the floor, in the place moſt convenient. We find inſtances in the early ſaints' legends where the hall was burnt by incautiouſly lighting the fire too near the wall. Hence it ſeems to have been uſually placed in the middle, and there can be little doubt that there was an opening, or, as it was called in later times, a louver, in the roof above, for the eſcape of the ſmoke. The hiſtorian Bede deſcribes a Northumbrian king, in the middle of the ſeventh century, as having, on his return from hunting, entered the hall with his attendants, and all ſtanding round the fire to warm themſelves. A ſomewhat ſimilar ſcene, but in more humble life, is repreſented in the accompanying cut, taken from

from a manuſcript calendar of the beginning of the eleventh century (MS. Cotton. Julius, A. iv.). The material for feeding the fire is wood, which the man to the left is bringing from a heap, while his companion is adminiſtering to the fire with a pair of Saxon tongs (*tangan*). The vocabularies give *tange*, tongs, and *bylig*, bellows; and they ſpeak of *col*, coal (explained by the Latin *carbo*), and *ſynder*, a cinder (*ſcorium*). As all theſe are Saxon words, and not derived from the Latin, we may ſuppoſe that they repreſent things known to the Anglo-Saxon race from an early period; and as charcoal does not produce *ſcorium*, or cinder, it is perhaps not going too far to ſuppoſe that the Anglo-Saxons were acquainted with the uſe of mineral coal. We know nothing of any other fire utenſils, except that the Anglo-Saxons uſed a *fyr-ſcoſl*, or fire-ſhovel. The place in which the fire was made was the *heorth*, or hearth.

No. 13. *A Party at the Fire.*

The furniture of the hall appears to have been very ſimple, for it conſiſted chiefly of benches. Theſe had carpets and cuſhions; the former are often mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon wills. The Anglo-Saxon poems ſpeak of the hall as being "adorned with treaſures," from which we are perhaps juſtified in believing that it was cuſtomary to diſplay there in ſome manner or other the richer and more ornamental of the houſehold veſſels. Perhaps one end of the hall was raiſed higher than the reſt for the lord of the houſehold, like the *dais* of later times, as Anglo-Saxon writers ſpeak of the *heah-ſetl*, or high ſeat. The table can hardly be conſidered as furniture, in the ordinary ſenſe of the word: it was literally, according to its Anglo-Saxon name *bord*, a board that was brought out for the occaſion, and placed upon treſſels, and taken away as ſoon as the meal was ended. Among the inedited Latin *ænigmata*, or riddles, of the Anglo-Saxon writer Tahtwin, who flouriſhed at the beginning of the eighth century, is one on *a table*, which is curious enough to be given here, from the manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Reg. 12, C. xxiii.).

The

The table, ſpeaking in its own perſon, ſays that it is in the habit of feeding people with all ſorts of viands; that while ſo doing it is a quadruped, and is adorned with handſome clothing; that afterwards it is robbed of all it poſſeſſes, and when it has been thus robbed it loſes its legs:—

DE MENSA.

Multiferis omnes dapibus ſaturare ſoleſco,
Quadrupedem hinc felix ditem me ſanxerit ætas,
Eſſe tamen pulchris ſatim dum veſtibus orner,
Certatim me prœdones ſpoliare ſoleſcunt,
Raptis nudata exuviis mox membra relinquunt.

In the illuminated manuſcripts, wherever dinner ſcenes are repreſented, the table is always covered with what is evidently intended for a handſome table-cloth, the *myſe-hrœgel* or *bord-clath.* The grand preparation for dinner was *laying the board;* and it is from this original character of the table that we derive our ordinary expreſſion of receiving any one "to *board* and lodging."

The hall was peculiarly the place for eating—and for drinking. The Anglo-Saxons had three meals in the day,—the breaking of their faſt (breakfaſt), at the third hour of the day, which anſwered to nine o'clock in the morning, according to our reckoning; the *ge-reordung* (repaſt), or *nón-mete* (noon-meat) or dinner, which is ſtated to have been held at the canonical hour of noon, or three o'clock in the afternoon; and the *æfen-gereord* (evening repaſt), *æfen-gyſl* (evening food), *æfen-mete* (evening meat), *æfen-thenung* (evening refreſhment), or ſupper, the hour of which is uncertain. It is probable, from many circumſtances, that the latter was a meal not originally in uſe among our Saxon forefathers: perhaps their only meal at an earlier period was the dinner, which was always their principal repaſt; and we may, perhaps, conſider noon as midday, and not as meaning the canonical hour.

As I have obſerved before, the table, from the royal hall down to the moſt humble of thoſe who could afford it, was not refuſed to ſtrangers. When they came to the hall-door, the gueſts were required to leave their arms in the care of a porter or attendant, and then, whether known or not,

not, they took their place at the tables. One of the laws of king Cnut directs, that if, in the meantime, any one took the weapon thus depoſited, and did hurt with it, the owner ſhould be compelled to clear himſelf of ſuſpicion of being cogniſant of the uſe to be made of his arms when he laid them down. Hiſtory affords us ſeveral remarkable inſtances of the facility of approach even to the tables of kings during the Saxon period. It was this circumſtance that led to the murder of king Edmund in 946. On St. Auguſtin's day, the king was dining at his manor of Pucklechurch, in Glouceſterſhire; a bandit named Leofa, whom the king had baniſhed for his crimes, and who had returned without leave from exile, had the effrontery to place himſelf at the royal table, by the ſide of one of the principal nobles of the court; the king alone recogniſed him, roſe from his ſeat to expel him from the hall, and received his death-wound in the ſtruggle. In the eleventh century, when Hereward went in diſguiſe as a ſpy to the court of a Corniſh chieftain, he entered

No. 14. An Anglo-Saxon Dinner-Party Pledging.

the hall while they were feaſting, took his place among the gueſts, and was but ſlightly queſtioned as to who he was and whence he came.

In the early illuminated manuſcripts, dinner ſcenes are by no means uncommon. The cut, No. 14 (taken from Alfric's verſion of Geneſis, MS. Cotton.

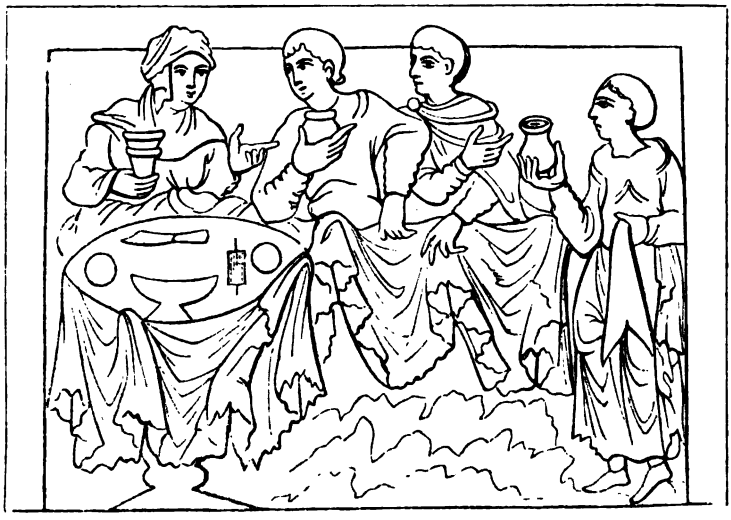
MS. Cotton. Claudius, B. iv., fol. 36, v°), repreſents Abraham's feaſt on the birth of his child. The gueſts are ſitting at an ordinary long hall table, ladies and gentlemen being mixed together without any apparent ſpecial arrangement. This manuſcript is probably of the beginning of the eleventh century. The cut, No. 15, repreſents another dinner ſcene, from a manuſcript probably of the tenth century (Tiberius, C. vi., fol. 5, v°), and preſents ſeveral peculiarities. The party here is a very ſmall

No. 15. Anglo-Saxons at Dinner.

one, and they ſit at a round table. The attendants ſeem to be ſerving them, in a very remarkable manner, with roaſt meats, which they bring to table on the ſpits (*ſpitu*) as they were roaſted. Another feſtive ſcene is repreſented in the cut, No. 16, taken from a manuſcript of the Pſychomachia of the poet Prudentius (MS. Cotton. Cleopatra, C. viii., fol. 15, r°). The table is again a round one, at which Luxury and her companions are ſeated at ſupper (*ſeo Galnes æt hyre æfen-ge-reordum ſitt*).

It will be obſerved that in theſe pictures, the tables are tolerably well covered with veſſels of different kinds, with the exception of plates. There are one or two diſhes of different ſizes in fig. 14, intended, no doubt, for holding bread and other articles; it was probably an utenſil borrowed from the Romans, as the Saxon name *diſc* was evidently taken from the Latin

Latin *diſcus*. It is not eaſy to identify the forms of veſſels given in theſe pictures with the words which are found in the Anglo-Saxon language, in which the general term for a veſſel is *fæt*, a vat; *crocca*, a pot or pitcher, no doubt of earthenware, is preſerved in the modern Engliſh word crockery; and *bolla*, a bowl, *orc*, a baſin, *bledu* and *mele*, each anſwering to the Latin *patera*, *læfel* and *ceac*, a pitcher or urn, *hnæp*, a cup (identical in name with the *hanap* of a later period), *flaxe*, a flaſk, are all pure Anglo-Saxon words. Many of the forms repreſented in the manuſcripts



No. 16. *A Supper Party.*

are recogniſed at once as identical with thoſe which are found in the earlier Anglo-Saxon graves. In the vocabularies, the Latin word *amphora* is tranſlated by *crocca*, a crock; and *lagena* by *æſcen*, which means a veſſel made of aſh wood, and was, in all probability, identical with the ſmall wooden buckets ſo often found in the early Saxon graves. In a document preſerved in Heming's chartulary of Canterbury, mention is made of "an *æſcen*, which is otherwiſe called a back-bucket" (*æſcen the is othre namon hrygilebuc gecleopad*, Heming, p. 393), which ſtrongly con-

firms the opinion I have adopted as to the purpoſe of the bucket found in the graves.

The food of the Anglo-Saxons appears to have been in general rather ſimple in character, although we hear now and then of great feaſts, probably conſiſting more in the quantity of proviſions than in any great variety or refinement in gaſtronomy. Bread formed the ſtaple, which the Anglo-Saxons appear to have eaten in great quantities, with milk, and butter, and cheeſe. A domeſtic was termed a man's *hlaf-ætan*, or loaf-eater. There is a curious paſſage in one of Alfric's homilies, that on the life of St. Benedict, where, ſpeaking of the uſe of oil in Italy, the Anglo-Saxon writer obſerves, "they eat oil in that country with their food as we do butter." Vegetables (*wyrtan*) formed a conſiderable portion of the food of our forefathers at this period; beans (*beana*) are mentioned as articles of food, but I remember no mention of the eating of peas (*piſan*) in Anglo-Saxon writers. A variety of circumſtances ſhow that there was a great conſumption of fiſh, as well as of poultry. Of fleſh meat, bacon (*ſpic*) was the moſt abundant, for the extenſive oak foreſts nouriſhed innumerable droves of ſwine. Much of their other meat was ſalted, and the place in which the ſalt meat was kept was called, on account of the great preponderance of the bacon, a *ſpic-hus*, or bacon-houſe; in latter times, for the same reaſon, named the larder. The practice of eating ſo much ſalt meat explains why boiling ſeems to have been the prevailing mode of cooking it. In the manuſcript of Alfric's tranſlation of Geneſis, already mentioned, we have a figure of a boiling veſſel (No. 17), which is placed over the fire on a tripod. This veſſel was called a pan (*panna*—one Saxon writer mentions *iſen panna*, an iron pan) or a kettle (*cytel*). It is very curious to obſerve how many of our trivial expreſſions at the preſent day are derived from very ancient cuſtoms; thus, for example, we ſpeak of "a kettle of fiſh," though what we now term a kettle would hardly ſerve for this branch of cookery. In another picture (No. 18) we have a ſimilar boiling veſſel, placed ſimilarly on a tripod, while the cook is uſing a very ſingular utenſil to ſtir the contents. Bede ſpeaks of a gooſe being taken down from a wall to be *boiled*. It ſeems probable that in earlier times among the Anglo-Saxons, and perhaps at a later

later period, in the caſe of large feaſts, the cooking was done out of doors. The only words in the Anglo-Saxon language for cook and kitchen, are *cóc* and *cycene*, taken from the Latin *coquus* and *coquina*, which ſeems to

No. 17. *A Saxon Kettle.*

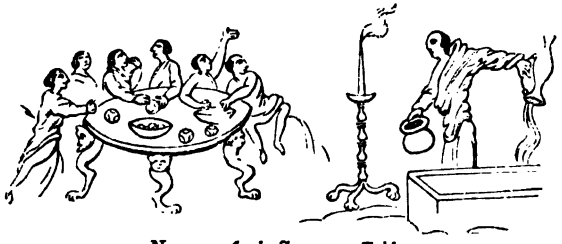
No. 18. *A Saxon Cook.*

ſhow that they only improved their rude manner of living in this reſpect after they had become acquainted with the Romans. Beſides boiled meats, they certainly had roaſt, or broiled, which they called *bræde*, meat which had been ſpread or diſplayed to the fire. The vocabularies explain the Latin *coctus* by "boiled or baked" (*geſoden, gebacen*). They alſo fried meat, which was then called *hyrſtyng*, and the veſſel in which it was fried was called *hyrſting-panne*, a frying-pan. Broth, alſo (*broth*), was much in uſe.

In the curious colloquy of Alfric (a dialogue made to teach the Anglo-Saxon youth the Latin names for different articles), three profeſſions are mentioned as requiſite to furniſh the table: firſt, the ſalter, who ſtored the ſtore-rooms (*cleafan*) and cellars (*hedderne*), and without whom they could not have butter (*butere*)—they always uſed ſalt butter —or cheeſe (*cyſe*); next, the baker, without whoſe handiwork, we are told, every table would ſeem empty; and laſtly, the cook. The work of the latter appears not at this time to have been very elaborate. "If you expel me from your ſociety," he ſays, "you will be obliged to eat your vegetables

vegetables green, and your fleſh-meat raw, nor can you have any fat broth." "We care not," is the reply, "for we can ourſelves cook our proviſions, and ſpread them on the table." Inſtead of grounding his defence on the difficulties of his profeſſion, the cook repreſents that in this caſe, inſtead of having anybody to wait upon them, they would be obliged to be their own ſervants. It may be obſerved, as indicating the general prevalence of boiling food, that in the above account of the cook, the Latin word *coquere* is rendered by the Anglo-Saxon *ſeothan*, to boil.* Our words *cook* and *kitchen* are the Anglo-Saxon *cóc* and *cycene*, and have no connection with the French *cuiſine*.

We may form ſome idea of the proportions in the conſumption of different kinds of proviſions among our Saxon forefathers, by the quantities given on certain occaſions to the monaſteries. Thus, according to the Saxon Chronicle, the occupier of an eſtate belonging to the abbey of Medeſhamſtede (Peterborough) in 852, was to furniſh yearly ſixty loads



No. 19. *Anglo-Saxons at Table.*

of wood for firing, twelve of coal (*græfa*), ſix of fagots, two tuns of pure ale, two beaſts fit for ſlaughter, ſix hundred loaves, and ten meaſures of Welſh ale.

It will be obſerved in the dinner ſcenes given above, that the gueſts

* William of Malmesbury, de Gest. Pontif. printed in Gale, p. 249, describes the Saxons as cooking their meat *in lebete*, evidently meaning the sort of vessel figured in the foregoing cuts. The Latin *lebes*, a cauldron or kettle, is interpreted in the early glossaries by the Anglo-Saxon *hwer*, or *huer*, from which we derive the English word *ewer*; *hwær-boll* or *hwær-cytel* are interpreted in the Anglo-Saxon dictionaries as meaning a frying-pan, which is evidently not correct.

are

are helping themſelves with their hands. Forks were totally unknown to the Anglo-Saxons for the purpoſe of carrying the food to the mouth, and it does not appear that every one at table was furniſhed with a knife. In the cut, No. 19 (taken from MS. Harl. No. 603, fol. 12, r°.), a party at table are eating without forks or knives. It will be obſerved here, as in the other pictures of this kind, that the Anglo-Saxon bread (*hlaf*) is in

No. 20. Anglo-Saxons at Table.

the form of round cakes, much like the Roman loaves in the pictures at Pompeii, and not unlike our croſs-buns at Eaſter, which are no doubt derived from our Saxon forefathers. Another party at dinner without knives or forks is repreſented in the cut No. 20, taken from the ſame manuſcript (fol. 51, v°.). The tables here are without table-cloths. The uſe of the fingers in eating explains to us why it was conſidered neceſſary to waſh the hands before and after the meal.

The knife (*cnif*), as repreſented in the Saxon illuminations, has a peculiar form, quite different from that of the earlier knife found in the graves, but reſembling rather cloſely the form of the modern razor. Several of theſe Saxon knives have been found, and one of them, dug up in London, and now in the intereſting muſeum collected by Mr. Roach Smith, is repreſented in the accompanying cut, No. 21.* The blade, of

* There is one of these knives in the Cambridge Museum, which has been there rather singularly labelled "a Roman razor!" Mr. Roach Smith always suspected ſteel

ſteel (*style*), which is the only part preſerved, has been inlaid with bronze.

When the repaſt was concluded, and the hands of the gueſts waſhed, the tables appear to have been withdrawn from the hall, and the party commenced drinking. From the earlieſt times, this was the occupation of the after part of the day, when no warlike expedition or preſſing buſineſs hindered it. The lord and his chief gueſts ſat at the high ſeat,

No. 21. An Anglo-Saxon Knife.

while the others ſat round on benches. An old chronicler, ſpeaking of a Saxon dinner party, ſays, "after dinner they went to their cups, to which the Engliſh were very much accuſtomed."* This was the caſe even with the clergy, as we learn from many of the eccleſiaſtical laws. In the Ramſey Hiſtory printed by Gale, we are told of a Saxon biſhop who invited a Dane to his houſe in order to obtain ſome land from him, and to drive a better bargain, he determined to make him drunk. He therefore preſſed him to ſtay to dinner, and "when they had all eaten enough, the tables were taken away, and they paſſed the reſt of the day, till evening, drinking. He who held the office of cup-bearer, managed that the Dane's turn at the cup came round oftener than the others, as the biſhop had directed him." We know by the ſtory of Dunſtan and king Eadwy, that it was conſidered a great mark of diſreſpect to the gueſts, even in a king, to leave the drinking early after dinner.

Our cut, No. 22, taken from the Anglo-Saxon calendar already mentioned (MS. Cotton. Julius, A. vi.), repreſents a party ſitting at the *heah-ſetl*, the high ſeat, or dais, drinking after dinner. It is the lord of the houſehold and his chief friends, as is ſhown by their attendant guard

that these knives were late Saxon, and their similarity in form to those given in the manuscripts shows that he was correct.

* Post prandium ad pocula, quibus Angli nimis sunt assueti.—Chron. J. Wallingford, in Gale, p. 542.

of

of honour. The cup-bearer, who is ſerving them, has a napkin in his hand. The ſeat is furniſhed with cuſhions, and the three perſons ſeated on it appear to have large napkins or cloths ſpread over their knees. Similar cloths are evidently repreſented in our cut No. 16. Whether theſe are the *ſetl-hrœgel,* or ſeat-cloths, mentioned in ſome of the Anglo-Saxon wills, is uncertain.

It will be obſerved that the greater part of the drinking-cups bear a reſemblance in form to thoſe of the more ancient period which we find in Anglo-Saxon graves, and of which ſome examples have been given in the preceding chapter. We cannot tell whether thoſe ſeen in the pictures be intended for glaſs or other material; but it is certain that the Anglo-Saxons were oſtentatious of drinking-cups and other veſſels made

No. 22. An Anglo-Saxon Drinking Party.

of the precious metals. Sharon Turner, in his Hiſtory of the Anglo-Saxons, has collected together a number of inſtances of ſuch valuable veſſels. In one will, three ſilver cups are bequeathed; in another, four cups, two of which were of the value of four pounds; in another, four ſilver cups, a cup with a fringed edge, a wooden cup variegated with gold, a wooden knobbed cup, and two very handſome drinking-cups (*ſmicere ſcencing-cuppan*). Other ſimilar documents mention a golden cup, with a golden diſh; a gold cup of immenſe weight; a diſh adorned with gold, and another with Grecian workmanſhip (probably brought from Byzantium). A lady bequeathed a golden cup weighing four marks and a half. Mention of ſilver cups, ſilver baſins, &c., is of frequent occurrence.

occurrence. In 833, a king gave his gilt cup, engraved outſide with vine-dreſſers fighting dragons, which he called his croſs-bowl, becauſe it had a croſs marked within it, and it had four angles projecting, alſo like a croſs. Theſe cups were given frequently as marks of affection and remembrance. The lady Ethelgiva preſented to the abbey of Ramſey, among other things, "two ſilver cups, for the uſe of the brethren in the refectory, in order that, while drink is ſerved in them to the brethren at their repaſt, my memory may be more firmly imprinted on their hearts."* It is a curious proof of the value of ſuch veſſels, that in the pictures of warlike expeditions, where two or three articles are heaped together as a kind of ſymbolical repreſentation of the value of the ſpoils, veſſels of the table and drinking-cups and drinking-horns are generally included. Our cut, No. 23, repreſents one of theſe groups (taken from the Cottonian Manuſcript, Claudius, C. viii.); it contains a crown, a bracelet or ring, two drinking-horns, a jug, and two other veſſels. The drinking-horn was in common uſe among the Anglo-Saxons. It is ſeen on the table or in the hands of the drinkers in more than one of our cuts. In the will of one Saxon lady, two buffalo-horns are mentioned; three horns worked with gold and ſilver are mentioned in one inventory; and we find four horns enumerated among the effects of a monaſtic houſe. The Mercian king Witlaf, with ſomewhat of the ſentiment of the lady Ethelgiva, gave to the abbey of Croyland the horn of his table, "that the elder monks may drink from it on feſtivals, and in their benedictions remember ſometimes the ſoul of the donor."

No. 23. Articles of Value.

The liquors drunk by the Saxons were chiefly ale and mead; the immenſe quantity of honey that was then produced in this country, as we learn from Domeſday-book and other records, ſhows us how great muſt

* "Duos ciphos argenteos . . . . ad serviendum fratribus in refectorio, quatenus, dum in eis potus edentibus fratribus ministratur, memoria mei eorum cordibus arctius inculcetur."—Hist. Ramesiensis, in Gale, p. 406.

have

have been the conſumption of the latter article. Welſh ale is eſpecially ſpoken of. Wine was alſo in uſe, though it was an expenſive article, and was in a great meaſure reſtricted to perſons above the common rank. According to Alfric's Colloquy, the merchant brought from foreign countries wine and oil; and when the ſcholar is aſked why he does not drink wine, he ſays he is not rich enough to buy it, "and wine is not the drink of children or fools, but of elders and wiſe men." There were, however, vineyards in England in the times of the Saxons, and wine was made from them; but they were probably rare, and chiefly attached to the monaſtic eſtabliſhments. William of Malmeſbury ſpeaks of a vineyard attached to his monaſtery, which was firſt planted at the beginning of the eleventh century by a Greek monk who ſettled there, and who ſpent all his time in cultivating it.

In their drinking, the Anglo-Saxons had various feſtive ceremonies, one of which is made known to us by the popular ſtory of the lady Rowena and the Britiſh king. When the ale or wine was firſt ſerved, the drinkers pledged each other, with certain phraſes of wiſhing health, not much unlike the mode in which we ſtill take wine with each other at table, or as people of the leſs refined claſſes continue to drink the firſt glaſs to the health of the company; but among the Saxons the ceremony was accompanied with a kiſs. In our cut, No. 14, the party appear to be pledging each other.

The Anglo-Saxon potations were accompanied with various kinds of amuſements. One of theſe was telling ſtories, and recounting the exploits of themſelves or of their friends. Another was ſinging their national poetry, to which the Saxons were much attached. In the leſs elevated claſs, where profeſſed minſtrels were not retained, each gueſt was minſtrel in his turn. Cædmon, as his ſtory is related by Bede, became a poet through the emulation thus excited. One of the eccleſiaſtical canons enacted under king Edgar enjoins "that no prieſt be a minſtrel at the ale (*ealu-ſcóp*), nor in any wiſe act the gleeman (*gliwige*), with himſelf or with other men." In the account of the murder of king Ethelbert in Herefordſhire, by the treachery of Offa's wicked queen (A.D. 792), we are told that the royal party, after dinner, "ſpent the

whole day with muſic and dancing in great glee." The cut, No. 24 (taken from the Harl. MS., No. 603), is a perfect illuſtration of this incident of Saxon ſtory. The cup-bearer is ſerving the gueſt with wine from a veſſel which is evidently a Saxon imitation of the Roman *amphora;* it is perhaps the Anglo-Saxon *ſeſter* or *ſæſter;* a word, no

No. 24. Drinking and Minſtrelſy.

doubt, taken from the Latin *ſextarius,* and carrying with it, in general, the notion of a certain meaſure. In Saxon tranſlations from the Latin, *amphora* is often rendered by *ſeſter.* We have here a choice party of minſtrels and gleemen. Two are occupied with the harp, which appears, from a compariſon of Beowulf with the later writers, to have been the national inſtrument. It is not clear from the picture whether the two men are playing both on the ſame harp, or whether one is merely holding the inſtrument for the other. Another is perhaps intended to repreſent the Anglo-Saxon *fithelere,* playing on the *fithele* (the modern Engliſh words *fiddler* and *fiddle*); but his inſtrument appears rather to be the cittern, which was played with the fingers, not with the bow. Another repreſentation of this performer, from the ſame manuſcript, is given in the cut No. 25, where the inſtrument is better defined. The other two minſtrels, in No. 24, are playing on the horn, or on the Saxon *pip,* or pipe. The two dancers are evidently a man and a woman, and another lady to the extreme right ſeems

No. 25. An Anglo-Saxon Fithelere.

ſeems preparing to join in the ſame exerciſe. We know little of the Anglo-Saxon mode of dancing, but to judge by the words uſed to expreſs this amuſement, *hoppan* (to hop), *ſaltian* and *ſtellan* (to leap), and *tumbian* (to tumble), it muſt have been accompanied with violent movements. Our cut No. 26 (from the Cottonian MS., Cleopatra, C. viii. fol. 16, v°), repreſents another party of minſtrels, one of whom, a female, is dancing, while the other two are playing on a kind of cithara and on the Roman double flute. The Anglo-Saxon names for the different kinds of muſi-

No. 26. Anglo-Saxon Minſtrels.

cians moſt frequently ſpoken of were *hearpere*, the harper; *bymere*, the trumpeter; *pipere*, the player on the pipe or flute; *ſithelere*, the fiddler; and *horn-blawere*, the horn-blower. The *gligman*, or gleeman, was the ſame who, at a later period, was called, in Latin, *joculator*, and, in French, a *jougleur*; and another performer, called *truth*, is interpreted as a ſtage player, but was probably ſome performer akin to the gleeman. The harp ſeems to have ſtood in the higheſt rank, or, at leaſt, in the higheſt popularity, of muſical inſtruments; it was termed poetically the *gleó-beam*, or the glee-wood.

Although it was conſidered a very faſhionable accompliſhment among the Anglo-Saxons to be a good ſinger of verſes and a good player on the harp, yet the profeſſed minſtrel, who went about to every ſort of joyous aſſemblage,

aſſemblage, from the feſtive hall to the village wake, was a perſon not eſteemed reſpectable. He was beneath conſideration in any other light than as affording amuſement, and as ſuch he was admitted everywhere, without examination. It was for this reaſon that Alfred, and ſubſequently Athelſtan, found ſuch eaſy acceſs in this garb to the camps of their enemies; and it appears to have been a common diſguiſe for ſuch purpoſes. The group given in the laſt cut (No. 26) are intended to repreſent the perſons characteriſed in the text (of Prudentius) by the Latin word *ganeones* (vagabonds, ribalds), which is there gloſſed by the Saxon term gleemen (*ganeonum, gliwig-manna*). Beſides muſic and dancing, they ſeem to have performed a variety of tricks and jokes, to while away the tedioufneſs of a Saxon afternoon, or excite the coarſe mirth of the peaſant. That ſuch performers, reſembling in many reſpects the Norman jougleur, were uſually employed by Anglo-Saxons of wealth and rank, is evident from various alluſions to them. Gaimar has preſerved a curious Saxon ſtory of the murder of king Edward by his ſtepmother (A.D. 978), in which the queen is repreſented as having in her ſervice a dwarf minſtrel, who is employed to draw the young king alone to her houſe. According to the Anglo-Norman relator of this ſtory, the dwarf was ſkilled in various modes of dancing and tumbling, characteriſed by words of which we can hardly now point out the exact diſtinction, "and could play many other games."

Wolſtanet un naim aveit,
Ki haler e treſcher ſaveit;
Si ſaveit ſailler e tumber,
E altres ghus pluſurs juer.

In a Saxon manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Cotton. Tiberius, C. vi.), among the minſtrels attendant on king David (repreſented in our cut, No. 27), we ſee a gleeman, who is throwing up and catching knives and balls, a common performance of the later Norman jougleurs, as well as of our modern mountebanks. Some of the tricks and geſtures of theſe performers were of the coarſeſt deſcription, ſuch as could be only tolerated in a rude ſtate of ſociety. An example will be found in a ſtory told by William of Malmeſbury of wandering minſtrels, whom he had ſeen performing

performing at a feſtival at that monaſtery when he was a child, and which we can hardly venture to give even under the veil of the original Latin.

No. 27. Anglo-Saxon Minſtrels and Gleeman.

A poem in the Exeter manuſcript deſcribes the wandering character of the Saxon minſtrels. He tells us:—

ſwa ſcriþende	*Thus roving*
geſceapum hweorfaþ	*with their lays go*
gleo-men gumena	*the gleemen of men*
geond grunda fela,	*over many lands,*
þearfe ſecgaþ,	*ſtate their wants,*
þonc-word ſprecaþ,	*utter words of thank,*
ſimle ſuþ oþþe norþ	*always ſouth or north,*
ſumne gemetaþ	*they find one*
gydda gleawne,	*knowing in ſongs,*
geofum unhneawne.	*who is liberal of gifts.*—Exeter Book, p. 326.

We

We are not to ſuppoſe that our Anglo-Saxon forefathers remained at table, merely drinking and liſtening. On the contrary, the performance of the minſtrels appears to have been only introduced at intervals, between which the gueſts talked, joked, propounded and anſwered riddles, boaſted of their own exploits, diſparaged thoſe of others, and, as the liquor took effect, became noiſy and quarrelſome. The moral poems often allude to the quarrels and ſlaughters in which feaſts ended. One of theſe poems, enumerating the various endowments of men, ſays:—

ſum biþ wræd tæfle;	*one is expert at dice;*
ſum biþ gewittig	*one is witty*
æt win-þege,	*at wine-bibbing,*
beor-hyrde god.	*a good beer-drinker.*—Exeter Book, p. 297.

A "Monitory Poem," in the ſame collection, thus deſcribes the manners of the gueſts in hall:—

þonne monige beoþ	*but many are*
mæþel-hergendra,	*lovers of ſocial converſe,*
wlonce wig-ſmiþas,	*haughty warriors,*
win-burgum in,	*in pleaſant cities,*
ſittaþ æt ſymble	*they ſit at the feaſt,*
ſoð-gied wrecaþ,	*tales recount,*
wordum wrixlaþ,	*in words converſe,*
witan fundiaþ	*ſtrive to know*
hwylc æsc-ſtede	*who the battle place,*
inne in ræcede	*within the houſe,*
mid werum wunige;	*will with men abide;*
þonne win hweteþ	*then wine wets*
beornes breoſt-ſefan,	*the man's breaſt-paſſions,*
breahtme ſtigeþ	*ſuddenly riſes*
cirm on corþre,	*clamour in the company,*
cwide-ſcral letaþ	*an outcry they ſend forth*
miſſenlice.	*various.*—Exeter Book, p. 314.

In a poem on the various fortunes of men, and the different ways in which they come by death, we are told:—

ſumum meces ecg	*from one the ſword's edge*
on meodu-bence,	*on the mead-bench,*
yrrum ealo-woſan,	*angry with ale,*
ealdor oþþringeþ,	*life ſhall expel,*
were win-ſadum.	*a wine-ſated man.*—Exeter Book, p. 330.

And

And in the metrical legend of St. Juliana, the evil one boaſts :—

ſume ic larum geteah,	*ſome I by wiles have drawn,*
te geſlite fremede,	*to ſtrife prepared,*
þæt hy ſæringa	*that they ſuddenly*
eald-aſ þoncan	*old grudges*
edniwedan,	*have renewed,*
beore druncne ;	*drunken with beer ;*
ic him byrlade	*I to them poured*
wreht of wege,	*diſcord from the cup,*
þæt hi in win-ſale	*ſo that they in the ſocial hall*
þurh ſweord-gripe	*through gripe of ſword*
ſawle forletan	*the ſoul let forth*
of flæsc-homan.	*from the body.*—Exeter Book, p. 271.

There were other amuſements for the long evenings beſides thoſe which belonged eſpecially to the hall, for every day was not a feaſt-day. The hall was then left to the houſehold retainers and their occupations. But we muſt now leave this part of the domeſtic eſtabliſhment. The ladies appear not to have remained at table long after dinner—it was ſomewhat as in modern times—they proceeded to their own ſpecial part of the houſe—the chamber—and thither it will be my duty to accompany them in the next chapter. I have deſcribed all the ordinary ſcenes that took place in the Anglo-Saxon hall.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHAMBER AND ITS FURNITURE.—BEDS AND BED-ROOMS.—INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD AMONG THE ANGLO-SAXONS.—CHARACTER AND MANNERS OF THE ANGLO-SAXON LADIES.—THEIR CRUELTY TO THEIR SERVANTS.—THEIR AMUSEMENTS.—THE GARDEN; LOVE OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS FOR FLOWERS.—ANGLO-SAXON PUNISHMENTS.—ALMSGIVING.

THE bower or chamber, which, as before ſtated, was, in the original Saxon manſions, built ſeparate from the hall, was a more private apartment than the latter, although it was ſtill eaſy of acceſs. In the houſes of the rich and the noble there were, as may eaſily be ſuppoſed, ſeveral chambers, devoted to the different purpoſes of the houſehold, and to the reception of viſitors. It was in the chamber that the lord of the houſehold tranſacted his private buſineſs, and gave his private audiences. We ſee by the ſtory of king Edwy that it was conſidered a mark of effeminacy to retire from the company in the hall after dinner, to ſeek more quiet amuſement in the chamber, where the men rejoined the ladies of the family; yet there are numerous inſtances which ſhow that, except on feſtive occaſions, this was a very common practice. In ſome caſes, where the party was not an oſtentatious or public one, the meal was ſerved in a chamber rather than in the hall. According to the ſtory of Oſbert king of Northumberland and Beorn the buzecarl, as told by Gaimar, it was in a chamber that Beorn's lady received the king, and cauſed the meal to be ſerved to him which ended in conſequences ſo fatal to the country. We have very little information relating to the domeſtic games and amuſements of the Anglo-Saxons. They ſeem to have conſiſted, in a great meaſure, in muſic and in telling ſtories. They had games of hazard, but we are not acquainted with their character. Their chief game was named *tæfel* or *tæfl*, which has been explained by

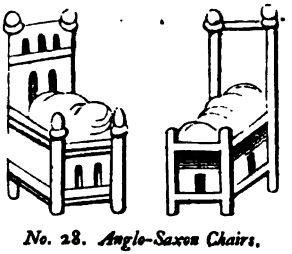
dice

dice and by *cheſs;* one name of the article played with, *tæfl-ſtan,* a table-*ſtone,* would ſuit either interpretation; but another, *tæfl-mon,* a table-*man,* would ſeem to indicate a game reſembling our cheſs.* The writers immediately after the conqueſt ſpeak of the Saxons as playing at cheſs, and pretend that they learnt the game from the Danes. Gaimar, who gives us an intereſting ſtory relating to the deceit practiſed upon king Edgar (A.D. 973) by Ethelwold, when ſent to viſit the beautiful Elfthrida, daughter of Orgar of Devonſhire, deſcribes the young lady and her noble father as paſſing the day at cheſs.

Orgar jouout à un eſchès,
Un giu k'il apriſt des Daneis:
Od lui jouout Elſtruet la bele.

The Ramſey hiſtory, publiſhed by Gale, deſcribing a biſhop's viſit to court late at night, ſays that he found the king amuſing himſelf with ſimilar games.† An eccleſiaſtical canon, enacted under king Edgar, enjoined that a prieſt ſhould not be a *tæflere,* or gambler.

It was not uſual, in the middle ages, to poſſeſs much furniture, for in thoſe times of inſecurity, anything moveable, which could not eaſily be concealed, was never ſafe from plunderers. Benches, on which ſeveral perſons could ſit together, and a ſtool or a chair for a gueſt of more conſideration, were the only ſeats. Our word chair is Anglo-Norman, and the adoption of the name from that language would ſeem to indicate that the moveable to which it was applied was unknown to the great maſs of the Anglo-Saxon population of the iſland. The Anglo-Saxon name for it was *ſetl,* a ſeat, or *ſtol;* the latter preſerved in the modern word ſtool. We find chairs of different forms in the illuminations of Anglo-Saxon manuſcripts, but



No. 28. Anglo-Saxon Chairs.

* We ſhall return to this ſubject in a ſubſequent chapter.

† Regem adhuc teſſerarum vel ſcaccarum ludo longioris tædia noctis relevantem invenit.

they are always repreſented as the ſeats of perſons of high rank and dignity, uſually of kings. The two examples given in the accompanying cut (No. 28), are taken from the Harleian MS., No. 603, fol. 54, v°., already referred to in our preceding chapters. It will be obſerved that, although very ſimple in form, they are both furniſhed with cuſhions. The chair in our cut No. 29, taken from Alfric's tranſlation of Geneſis

No. 29. *A King Seated.*

No. 30. *King David.*

(MS. Cotton. Claudius, B. iv.), on which a king is ſeated, is of a different and more elegant conſtruction. We ſometimes find, in the manuſcripts, chairs of fantaſtic form, which were, perhaps, creations of the artiſt's imagination. Such a one is the ſingular throne on which king David is ſeated with his harp, in our cut No. 30, which is alſo taken from the Harleian Manuſcript, No. 603 (fol. 68, v°.). In addition to the ſeat, the ladies in the chamber had a *ſcamel*, or footſtool.

There was a table uſed in the chamber or bower, which differed altogether from that uſed in the hall. It was named *myſe*, *diſc* (from the Latin *diſcus*), and *beod;* all words which convey the idea of its being round—*beodas* (in the plural) was the term applied to the ſcales of a balance. The Latin phraſe, of the 127th Pſalm, *in circuitu menſæ tuæ*, which was evidently underſtood by the Anglo-Saxon tranſlators as referring to

to a round table, is tranſlated by one, *on ymbhwyrfte myſan thine,* and by another, *in ymbhwyrfte beodes thines.* If we refer back to the preceding chapter, we ſhall ſee, in the ſubjects which appear to exhibit a ſmall domeſtic party (ſee cuts No. 15, 19, and 24), that the table is round; and this was evidently the uſual form given among the Anglo-Saxons to the table uſed in the chamber or private room. This form has been preſerved as a favourite one in England down to a very recent period, as that of the parlour-table among the claſs of ſociety moſt likely to retain Anglo-Saxon taſtes and ſentiments. In the pictures, the round table is generally repreſented as ſupported on three or four legs, though there are inſtances in which it was repreſented with one. In the latter caſe, the board of the table probably turned up on a hinge, as in our old parlour tea-tables; and in the former it was perhaps capable of being taken off the legs; for there is reaſon for believing that it was only laid out when wanted, and that, when no longer in uſe, it was put away on one ſide of the room or in a cloſet, in the ſmalleſt poſſible compaſs.

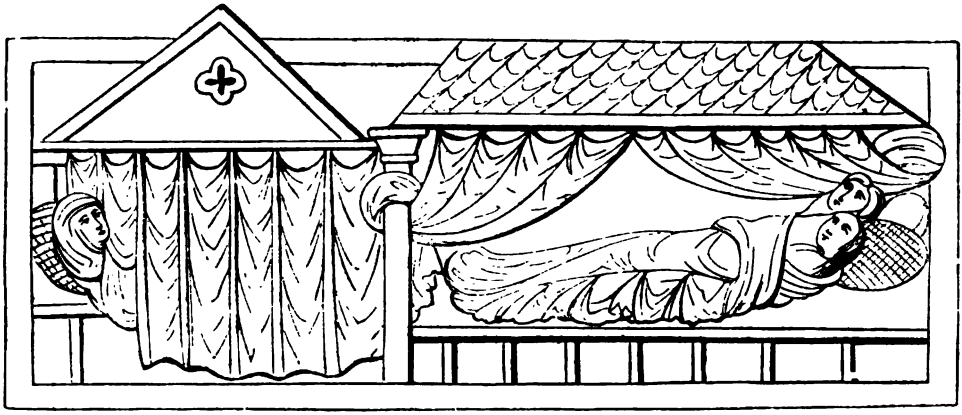
We have no information to explain to us how the bower or chamber was warmed. In the hall, it is probable that the fire gave warmth and light at the ſame time, although, in the fragment of the Anglo-Saxon poem relating to the fight at Finneſburg, there is an indiſtinct intimation that the hall was ſometimes lighted with *horns,* or creſſets; but, in the chamber, during the long evenings of winter, it was neceſſary to have an artificial light to enable its occupants to read, or work, or play. The Anglo-Saxon name for this article, ſo neceſſary for domeſtic comfort, was *candel* or *condel* (our *candle*); and, ſo general was the application of this term, that it was even uſed figuratively as we now uſe the word lamp. Thus, the Anglo-Saxon poets ſpoke of the ſun as *rodores candel* (the candle of the firmament), *woruld-candel* (the candle of the world), *heofon-condel* (the candle of heaven), *wyn-condel* (the candle of glory). The candle was, no doubt, originally a mere maſs of fat plaſtered round a wick (*candel-weoc*), and ſtuck upon an upright ſtick. Hence the inſtrument on which it was afterwards ſupported received the name of *candel-ſticca* or *candel-ſtæf,* a candleſtick; and the original idea was preſerved even when the candle ſupporter had many branches, it being then called

a *candel-treow*, or candle-tree. The original arrangement of the ſtick was alſo preſerved; for, down to a very recent period, the candle was not inſerted in a ſocket in the candleſtick as at preſent, but it was ſtuck upon a ſpike. The Anglo-Saxon writers ſpeak of *candel-ſnytels*, or ſnuffers. Other names leſs uſed, for a candle or ſome article for giving light, were *blacern* or *blæcern*, which is explained in gloſſaries by the Latin *lucerna*, and *thœcela*, the latter ſignifying merely a light. It was uſual, alſo, among our Saxon forefathers, as among ourſelves, to ſpeak of the inſtrument for illumination as merely *leoht*, a light—"bring me a light." A candleſtick and candle are repreſented in one of the cuts in our laſt chapter (cut No. 19). The Anglo-Saxons, no doubt, derived the uſe of lamps from the Romans; and they were ſo utterly at a loſs for a word to deſcribe this mode of illumination, that they always called it *leoht-fæt*, a light-vat, or veſſel of light. In our cut (No. 31) we have an Anglo-Saxon lamp, placed on a candelabrum or ſtand, exactly in the Roman manner. It will be remembered that Aſſer, a writer of ſomewhat doubtful authenticity, aſcribes to king Alfred the invention of lanterns, as a protection to the candle, to prevent it from ſwealing in conſequence of the wind entering through the crevices of the apartments—not a very bright picture of the comforts of an Anglo-Saxon chamber. The candles were made of wax as well as tallow. The candleſtick was of different materials. In one inſtance we find it termed, in Anglo-Saxon, a *leoht-iſern*, literally a light-iron: perhaps this was the term uſed for the lamp-ſtand, as figured in our laſt cut. In the inventories we have mention of *ge-bonene candel-ſticcan* (candleſticks of bone), of ſilver-gilt candleſticks, and of ornamented candleſticks.

No. 31. *A Lamp and Stand.*

A bed was a uſual article of furniture in the bower or chamber; though there were, no doubt, in large manſions, chambers ſet apart as bedrooms, as well as chambers in which there was no bed, or in which a bed could be made for the occaſion. The account given by Gaimar, as quoted above, of the viſit of king Oſbert to Beorn's lady, ſeems to imply that the chamber in which the lady gave the king his meal had a bed

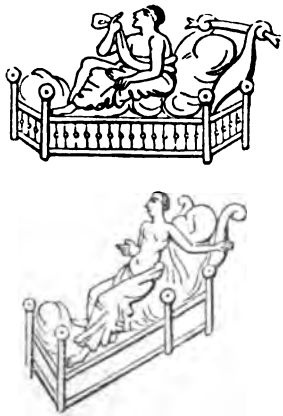
bed in it. The bed itſelf ſeems uſually to have conſiſted merely of a ſack (*ſæccing*) filled with ſtraw, and laid on a bench or board. Hence words uſed commonly to ſignify the bed itſelf were *bænce* (a bench), and *ſtreow* (ſtraw): and even in king Alfred's tranſlation of Bede, the ſtatement, "he ordered to prepare a bed for him," is expreſſed in Anglo-Saxon by, *he heht him ſtreowne ge-gearwian*, literally, he ordered to prepare ſtraw for him. All, in fact, that had to be done when a bed was wanted, was to take the bed-ſack out of the *cyſt*, or cheſt, fill it with freſh ſtraw, and lay it on the bench. In ordinary houſes it is probable



No. 32. Anglo-Saxon Beds.

that the bench for the bed was placed in a receſs at the ſide of the room, in the manner we ſtill ſee in Scotland; and hence the bed itſelf was called, among other names, *cote*, a cot; *cryb*, a crib or ſtall; and *clif* or *clyf*, a receſs or cloſet. From the ſame circumſtance a bedroom was called *bed-clyfa* or *bed-cleofa*, and *bed-cofa*, a bed-cloſet or bed-cove. Our cut (No. 32), taken from Alfric's verſion of Geneſis (Claudius, B. iv.), repreſents beds of this deſcription. Benches are evidently placed in receſſes at the ſide of the chamber, with the beds laid upon them, and the receſſes are ſeparated from the reſt of the apartment by a curtain, *bed-warft* or *hryſte*. The modern word *bedſtead* means, literally, no more

more than "a place for a bed;" and it is probable that what we call bedſteads were then rare, and only poſſeſſed by people of rank. Two examples are given in the annexed cut (No. 33), taken from the Harleian MS., No. 603. Under the head were placed a *bolſtar* and a *pyle* (pillow), which were probably alſo ſtuffed with ſtraw. The clothes with which the ſleeper was covered, and which appear in the pictures ſcanty enough, were *ſcyte*, a ſheet, *bed-felt*, a coverlet, which was generally of ſome thicker material, and *bed-reaf*, bed-clothes. We know from a multitude of authorities, that it was the general cuſtom of the middle ages to go into bed quite naked. The ſketchy character of the Anglo-Saxon drawings renders it difficult ſometimes to judge of minute details; but, from the accompanying cuts, it appears that an Anglo-Saxon going into bed, having ſtripped all his or her clothes off, firſt wrapped round his body a ſheet, and then drew over him the coverlet. Sharon Turner has given a liſt of the articles connected with the bed, mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon wills and inventories. In the will of a man we find bed-clothes (*bed-reafes*), with a curtain (*hyrfte*), and ſheet (*hopp-ſcytan*), and all that thereto belongs; and he gives to his ſon the *bed-reafe*, or bed-cloth, and all its appurtenances. An Anglo-Saxon lady gives to one of her children two cheſts and their contents, her beſt bed-curtain, linen, and all the clothes belonging to it. To another child ſhe leaves two cheſts, and "all the bed-clothes that to one bed belong." On another occaſion we read of *pulvinar unum de palleo:* not a pillow of ſtraw, as Sharon Turner very erroneouſly tranſlates it, but a pillow of a ſort of rich cloth made in the middle ages. A goat-ſkin bed-covering was ſent to an Anglo-Saxon abbot; and bear-ſkins are ſometimes noticed, as if a part of bed furniture.



No. 33. Anglo-Saxon Beds.

The bed-room, or chamber, and the ſitting-room were uſually identical; for we muſt bear in mind that in the domeſtic manners of the middle ages

ages the ſame idea of privacy was not connected with the ſleeping-room as at the preſent day. Gaimar has preſerved an anecdote of Anglo-Saxon times curiouſly illuſtrative of this point. King Edgar—a ſecond David in this reſpect—married the widow of Ethelwold, whom he had murdered in order to clear his way to her bed. The king and queen were ſleeping in their bed, which is deſcribed as ſurrounded by a rich curtain, made of a ſtuff which we cannot eaſily explain, when Dunſtan, uninvited, but unhindered, entered the chamber to expoſtulate with them on their wickedneſs, and came to the king's bedſide, where he ſtood over them, and entered into converſation—

A Londres ert Edgar li reis;
En ſon lit jut e la raine,
Entur els out une curtine
Delgé, d'un paille eſcariman.
Eſte-vus l'arceveſque Dunſtan
Trés par matin vint en la chambre
Sur un pecul de vermail lambre
S'eſt apué cel arceveſque.

King Edgar was at London;
He lay in his bed with the queen,
Round them was a curtain
Spread, made of ſcarlet paille.
Behold archbiſhop Dunſtan
Came into the chamber very early in the morning.
On a bed-poſt of red plank
The archbiſhop leaned.

In the account of the murder of king Ethelbert by the inſtrumentality of the queen of king Offa, as it is told by Roger of Wendover, we ſee the queen ordering to be prepared for the royal gueſt, a chamber, which was adorned for the occaſion with ſumptuous furniture, as his bed-room. "Near the king's bed ſhe cauſed a ſeat to be prepared, magnificently decked, and ſurrounded with curtains; and underneath it the wicked woman cauſed a deep pit to be dug." Into this pit the king was precipitated the moment he truſted himſelf on the treacherous ſeat. It is clear from the context that the chamber thus prepared for the king was a building apart, and that it had only a ground-floor.

It was in the chamber that the child, while an infant, was brought up by its mother. We have few contemporary notices of the treatment children at this early age by the Anglo-Saxons, but probably it differed little from the general practice of a later period. Towards the cloſe of the thirteenth century, an Engliſhman named Walter de Bibbleſworth, who wrote, as a great proportion of Engliſh writers at that day did, in French

French verſe—French as it was then ſpoken and written in England—has left us a very curious metrical vocabulary, compiled in French with interlinear explanations of the words in Engliſh, which commences with man's infancy. "As ſoon as the child is born," ſays the author, "it muſt be ſwathed; lay it to ſleep in its cradle, and you muſt have a nurſe to rock it to ſleep."

Kaunt le emfès ſera nées,
Lors deyt eſtre mayloles,
En ſoun berz l'enfaunt chochet,
De une bercere vus purvoyet,
Où par ſa norice ſeyt bercé.

This was the manner in which the new-born infant was treated in all grades of ſociety. If we turn to one of the more ſerious romances, we find it practiſed among princes and feudal chiefs equally as among the poor. Thus, when the princeſs Pariſe, wandering in the wild woods, is delivered in the open air, ſhe firſt wraps her child in a piece of *ſendal*, torn apparently from her rich robe, and then binds, or ſwathels, it with a white cloth:—

La dame le conroie à un pan de cendex,
Puis a pris un blanc drap, ſi a ſes flans bendez.—Pariſe la Duchesse, p. 76.

When the robbers carry away the child by night, thinking they had gained ſome rich booty, they find that they have ſtolen a newly-born infant, "all ſwatheled."

Lai troverent l'anffant, treſtot anmaloté.—Ibid. p. 80.

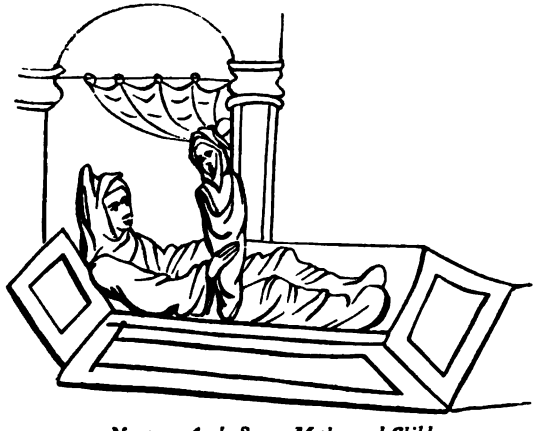
This cuſtom of ſwatheling children in their infancy, though evidently injurious as well as ridiculous, has prevailed from a very early period, and is ſtill practiſed in ſome parts of Europe. We can hardly doubt that our Anglo-Saxon forefathers ſwatheled their children, although the practice is not very clearly deſcribed by any of their writers. We derive the word itſelf from the Anglo-Saxon language, in which *beſwethan* means to ſwathe or bind, *ſuethe* ſignifies a band or ſwathe, and *ſwethel* or *ſwæthil*, a ſwaddling-band. Theſe words appear, however, to have been uſed in a more extenſive ſenſe among the Anglo-Saxons than their repreſentatives in

in more recent times, and as I have not met with them applied in this reſtricted ſenſe in Anglo-Saxon writers, I ſhould not haſtily aſſume from them that our early Teutonic forefathers did ſwathe their new-born children. In an Anglo-Saxon poem on the birth of Chriſt, contained in the Exeter Book (p. 45), the poet ſpeaks of—

Bearnes gebyrda,	*The child's birth,*
þa he in binne wæs	*when he in the bin was*
in cildes hiw	*in a child's form*
claþum biwunden.	*with cloths wound round.*

Theſe words refer clearly to the practice of ſwaddling; and, though the Anglo-Saxon artiſt has not here portrayed his object very diſtinctly, we can hardly doubt that, in our cut (No. 34), taken from the Anglo-Saxon manuſcript of Cædmon, the child, which its mother is repreſented as holding, is intended to be ſwathed.

The word *bin*, uſed in the lines of the Anglo-Saxon poem juſt quoted, which means a hutch or a manger, has reference, of courſe, to the cir-



No. 34. Anglo-Saxon Mother and Child.

cumſtances of the birth of the Saviour, and is not here employed to ſignify a cradle. This laſt word is itſelf Anglo-Saxon, and has ſtood its ground in our language ſucceſsfully againſt the influence of the Anglo-

Norman, in which it was called a *bers* or *berſel*, from the latter of which is derived the modern French *berçeau*. Another name for a cradle was *crib;* a poem in the Exeter Book (p. 87) ſpeaks of *cild geong on crybbe* (a young child in a cradle). Our cut No. 35, alſo taken from the manu-

No. 35. *Anglo-Saxon Child in its Cradle.*

ſcript of Cædmon, repreſents an Anglo-Saxon cradle of rather rude conſtruction. The illuminators of a later period often repreſent the cradle of elegant form and richly ornamented. The Anglo-Saxon child appears here alſo to be ſwaddled, but it is ſtill drawn too inaccurately to be deciſive on this point. The latter illuminators were more particular and correct in their delineations, and leave no doubt of the univerſal practice of ſwaddling infants. A good example is given in our cut No. 36, taken from an illuminated manuſcript of the fourteenth century, of which a copy is given in the large work of the late M. du Sommerard.

There is a very curious paragraph relating to infants in the Pœnitentiale of Theodore, archbiſhop of Canterbury, which furniſhes us with a ſingular picture of early Anglo-Saxon domeſtic life, for Theodore flouriſhed in the latter half of the ſeventh century. It may be perhaps right to explain that a Pœnitentiale was a code of eccleſiaſtical laws directing the proportional degrees of penance for each particular claſs and degree of crimes and offences againſt public and private morals, and that theſe laws penetrate

penetrate to the innermoſt receſſes of domeſtic life. The Pœnitentiale of archbiſhop Theodore directs that "if a woman place her infant by the hearth, and the man put water in the cauldron, and it boil over, and the child be ſcalded to death, the woman muſt do penance for her negligence,

No. 36. Mother and Child.

but the man is acquitted of blame."* As this accident muſt have been of very frequent occurrence to require a particular direction in a code of laws, it implies great negligence in the Anglo-Saxon mothers, and ſeems to ſhow that, commonly, at leaſt at this early period, they had no cradles for their children, but laid them, ſwaddled as they were, on the ground cloſe by the fire, no doubt to keep them warm, and that they left them in this ſituation.

We are not informed if there were any fixed period during which the infant was kept in ſwaddling-cloths, but probably when it was thought no longer neceſſary to keep it in the arms or in the cradle, it was relieved from its bands, and allowed to crawl about the floor and take care of itſelf. Walter de Bibbleſworth, the Anglo-Norman writer of the thirteenth century already quoted, tells us briefly that a child is left to creep about before it has learnt to go on its feet:—

Le enfaunt covent de chatouner
Avaunt ke ſache à pés aler.

* Mater, si juxta focum infantem suum posuerit, et homo aquam in caldarium miserit, et ebullita aqua infans superfusus mortuus fuerit; pro negligentia mater pœniteat, et ille homo securus sit.

When

When the Anglo-Saxon youth, if a boy, had paſſed his infancy, he entered that age which was called *cnithad* (knighthood), which laſted from about eight years of age until manhood.

It is very rare that we can catch in hiſtory a glimpſe of the internal economy of the Anglo-Saxon houſehold. Enough, however, is told to ſhow us that the Saxon woman in every claſs of ſociety poſſeſſed thoſe characteriſtics which are ſtill conſidered to be the beſt traits of the character of Engliſhwomen; ſhe was the attentive houſewife, the tender companion, the comforter and conſoler of her huſband and family, the virtuous and noble matron. Home was her eſpecial place; for we are told in a poem in the Exeter Book (p. 337) that, "It beſeems a damſel to be at her board (table); a rambling woman ſcatters words, ſhe is often charged with faults, a man thinks of her with contempt, oft her cheek ſmites." In all ranks, from the queen to the peaſant, we find the lady of the houſehold attending to her domeſtic duties. In 686, John of Beverley performed a ſuppoſed miraculous cure on the lady of a Yorkſhire earl; and the man who narrated the miracle to Bede the hiſtorian, and who dined with John of Beverley at the earl's houſe after the cure, ſaid, "She preſented the cup to the biſhop (John) and to me, and continued ſerving us with drink as ſhe had begun, till dinner was over." Domeſtic duties of this kind were never conſidered as degrading, and they were performed with a ſimplicity peculiarly characteriſtic of the age. Bede relates another ſtory of a miraculous cure performed on an earl's wife by St. Cuthbert, in the ſequel of which we find the lady going forth from her houſe to meet her huſband's viſitor, holding the reins while he diſmounts, and conducting him in. The wicked and ambitious queen Elfthrida, when her ſtep-ſon king Edward approached her reſidence, went out in perſon to attend upon him, and invite him to enter, and, on his refuſal, ſhe ſerved him with the cup herſelf, and it was while ſtooping to take it that he was treacherouſly ſtabbed by one of her attendants. In their chamber, beſides ſpinning and weaving, the ladies were employed in needlework and embroidery, and the Saxon ladies were ſo ſkilful in this art, that their work, under the name of Engliſh work (*opus Anglicum*), was celebrated on the continent. We read

read of a Saxon lady, named Ethelſwitha, who retired with her maidens to a houſe near Ely, where her mother was buried, and employed herſelf and them in making a rich chaſuble for the monks. The four princeſſes, the ſiſters of king Ethelſtan, were celebrated for their ſkill in ſpinning, weaving, and embroidering; William of Malmeſbury tells us that their father, king Edward, had educated them "in ſuch wiſe, that in childhood they gave their whole attention to letters, and afterwards employed themſelves in the labours of the diſtaff and the needle." The reader will remember in the ſtory of the Saxon queen Oſburgha, the mother of the great Alfred, how ſhe ſat in her chamber, ſurrounded by her children, and encouraging them in a taſte for literature. The ladies, when thus occupied, were not inacceſſible to their friends of either ſex. When Dunſtan was a youth, he appears to have been always a welcome viſitor to the ladies in their "bowers," on account of his ſkill in muſic and in the arts. His contemporary biographer tells us of a noble lady, named Ethelwynn, who, knowing his ſkill in drawing and deſigns, obtained his aſſiſtance for the ornaments of a handſome ſtole which ſhe and her women were embroidering. Dunſtan is repreſented as bringing his harp with him into the apartment of the ladies, and hanging it up againſt the wall, that he might have it ready to play to them in the intervals of their work. Editha, the queen of Edward the Confeſſor, was well-known as a ſkilful needle-woman, and as extenſively verſed in literature. Ingulf's ſtory of his ſchoolboy-days, if it be true (for there is conſiderable doubt of the authenticity of Ingulf's "Hiſtory"), and of his interviews with queen Edith, gives us a curious picture of the ſimplicity of an Anglo-Saxon court, even at the lateſt period of their monarchy. "I often met her," he ſays, "as I came from ſchool, and then ſhe queſtioned me about my ſtudies and my verſes; and willingly paſſing from grammar to logic, ſhe would catch me in the ſubtleties of argument. She always gave me two or three pieces of money, which were counted to me by her handmaiden, and then ſent me to the royal larder to refreſh myſelf.

Several circumſtances ariſing out of certain rivalries of ſocial inſtitutions render it ſomewhat difficult to form an eſtimate of the moral

character of the Anglo-Saxons. In the firſt place, before the introduction of Chriſtianity, marriage was a mere civil inſtitution, conſiſted chiefly in a bargain between the father of the lady and the man who ſought her, and was completed with few formalities, except thoſe of feaſting and rejoicing. After the young lady was out of the control of her parents, the two ſexes were on a footing of equality to each other, and the marriage tie was ſo little binding, that, in caſe of diſagreement, it was at the will of either of the married couple to ſeparate, in which caſe the relatives or friends of each party interfered, to ſee that right was done in the proportional repayment of marriage money, dowry, &c., and after the ſeparation each party was at liberty to marry again. This ſtate of things is well illuſtrated in the Icelandic ſtory of the Burnt Njal, recently tranſlated by Dr. Daſent, and it was not aboliſhed by the ſecular laws, after the converſion of the Anglo-Saxons to Chriſtianity, marriage ſtill continuing to be, in fact, a civil inſtitution. But the higher clergy, at leaſt, who were thoſe who were moſt ſtrongly inſpired with the Romiſh ſentiments, diſapproved entirely of this view of the marriage ſtate, and, although the Saxon prieſts appear not to have heſitated in being preſent at the ſecond marriages after ſuch ſeparations, they were apparently forbidden by the eccleſiaſtical laws from giving their bleſſing to them.* With ſuch views of the conjugal relations, we cannot be ſurpriſed if the aſſociating together of a man and woman, without the ceremonies of marriage, was looked upon without diſguſt; in fact, this was the caſe throughout weſtern Europe during the middle ages, in ſpite of the doctrines of the church, and the offspring was hardly conſidered as diſpoſſeſſed of legal rights. It would be eaſy to point out examples illuſtrating this ſtate of things. Again, the prieſthood among the unconverted Saxons was probably, as it appears among the Icelanders in the ſtory of the Burnt Njal juſt alluded to, a

* This, I suppose, is the meaning of the canon of Alfric (No. 9), which allows a layman to marry, with a dispensation, a second time, "if his wife desert him" (*gyf his wif æfyldð*), but the priest was not allowed to give his blessing to the marriage, because it was a case in which the church enjoined a penance, the performance of which it would be his duty to require. But the meaning of the Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical laws on this subject is rather obscure.

ſort

ſort of family poſſeſſion,* the prieſts themſelves being what we ſhould call family men; ſo that when the Anglo-Saxon people were Chriſtians, and no longer pagans, the maſs of the clergy, whatever may have been their ſincerity as Chriſtians, could not underſtand, or, at leaſt, were unwilling to accept, the new Romiſh doctrine which required their celibacy. In both theſe caſes, the Anglo-Saxon eccleſiaſtical writers, who are our chief authority on this ſubject, and were the moſt bigoted of the Romiſh party, ſpeak in terms of exaggerated virulence, on the ſcore of morality, againſt practices which the Anglo-Saxon people had not been uſed to conſider as immoral at all. Thus, we ſhould be led to believe, from the accounts of theſe eccleſiaſtical moraliſts, that the Anglo-Saxon clergy were infamous for their incontinence, whereas their declamations probably mean only that the Anglo-Saxon prieſts perſiſted in having wives and families. The ſecular laws contain frequent alluſions to the continuance of principles relating to the marriage ſtate, which were derived from the older period of paganiſm, and ſome of theſe are extremely curious. Thus, the laws of king Ethelred provide that a man who ſeduces another man's wife, ſhall make reparation, not only as in modern times, by paying pecuniary damages, but alſo by procuring him another wife! or, in the words of the original, "If a freeman have been familiar with a freeman's wife, let him pay for it with his *wer-gild* (the money compenſation for the killing of a man), and provide another wife with his own money, and bring her home to the other." By a law of king Ine, "if any man buy a wife (that is, if the bargain with her father

* This fact of family prieſthood may perhaps explain a circumſtance in the early hiſtory of Northumbria, which has much puzzled ſome antiquaries; I mean the ſtory, given by Bede, of the converſion of king Edwin, and of the part acted on that occaſion by the Northumbrian prieſt Coifi. The place where the prieſthood was held, and where the temple ſtood, was called Godmundingaham, a name which it has preſerved, ſlightly modified, to the preſent day. This name has been the victim of the moſt abſurd attempts at derivation, which are not worth repeating here, becauſe every one who knows the Anglo-Saxon language, and anything of Anglo-Saxon antiquities, is aware that it can only have one meaning—the home, or head reſidence, of the Godmundings, or deſcendants of Godmund. Perhaps the prieſthood was at this time in the family of the Godmundings, and Coifi may have been then the head of the family.

has

has been completed), and the marriage take not place," he was required to pay the money, beſides other compenſation. And again, by one of Alfred's laws, it was provided, "If any one deceive an unbetrothed woman, and ſleep with her, let him pay for her, and have her afterwards to wife; but if the father of the woman will not give her, let him pay money according to her dowry." Regulations relating to the buying of a wife, are found in the Anglo-Saxon laws.

We learn nothing in the facts of hiſtory to the diſcredit of the Anglo-Saxon character in general. As in other countries, in the ſame condition of ſociety, they appear capable of great crimes, and of equally great acts of goodneſs and virtue. Generally ſpeaking, their leaſt amiable trait was the treatment of their ſervants or ſlaves; for this claſs among the Anglo-Saxons were in a ſtate of abſolute ſervitude, might be bought and ſold, and had no protection in the law againſt their maſters and miſtreſſes, who, in fact, had power of life and death over them. We gather from the eccleſiaſtical canons that, at leaſt in the earlier periods of Anglo-Saxon hiſtory, it was not unuſual for ſervants to be ſcourged to death by or by order of their miſtreſſes. Some of the collections of local miracles, ſuch as thoſe of St. Swithun, at Wincheſter (of the tenth century), furniſh us with horrible pictures of the cruel treatment to which female ſlaves eſpecially were ſubjected. For comparatively ſlight offences they were loaded with gyves and fetters, and ſubjected to all kinds of tortures. Several of theſe are curiouſly illuſtrative of domeſtic manners. On one occaſion, the maid-ſervant of Teothic the bell-maker (*campanarius*), of Wincheſter, was, for "a ſlight offence," placed in iron fetters, and chained up by the feet and hands all night. Next morning ſhe was taken out to be frightfully beaten, and ſhe was put again into her bonds; but in the enſuing night ſhe contrived to make her eſcape, and fled to the church to ſeek ſanctuary at the tomb of St. Swithun, for being in a ſtate of ſervitude there was no legal protection for her. On another occaſion, a female ſervant had been ſtolen from a former maſter, and had paſſed into the poſſeſſion of another maſter in Wincheſter. One day her former maſter came to Wincheſter, and the girl, hearing of it, went to ſpeak to him. When her miſtreſs heard that ſhe had been ſeen to talk with a man from

a diſtant province, ſhe ordered her to be thrown into fetters, and treated very cruelly. Next day, while the miſtreſs had gone out on ſome buſineſs, leaving her ſervant at home in fetters, the latter made her eſcape ſimilarly to the ſanctuary of the church. Another ſervant-girl in Wincheſter, taking her maſter's clothes to waſh in the river, was ſet upon by thieves, who robbed her of them. Her maſter, aſcribing the miſhap to her own negligence, beat her very ſeverely, and then put her in fetters, from which ſhe made her eſcape like the others. The intereſting ſcene

No. 37. *Waſhing and Scourging.*

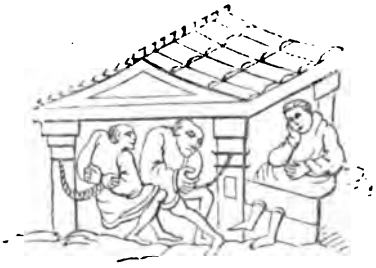
repreſented in our cut, No. 37, taken from the Harleian MS., No. 603, fol. 14, v°., may be regarded as ſhowing us the ſcourging of a ſlave. In a picture in Alfric's verſion of Geneſis, the man ſcourged, inſtead of being tied by the feet, is fixed by the body in a cloven poſt, in a rather ſingular manner. The aptneſs with which the Saxon ladies made uſe of the ſcourge is illuſtrated by one of William of Malmeſbury's anecdotes, who tells us that, when king Ethelred was a child, he once ſo irritated

his mother, that not having a whip, ſhe beat him with ſome candles, which were the firſt thing that fell under her hand, until he was almoſt inſenſible. "On this account he dreaded candles during the reſt of his life, to ſuch a degree that he would never ſuffer the light of them to be introduced in his preſence!"

The cruelty of the Anglo-Saxon ladies to their ſervants offers a contraſt to the generally mild character of the puniſhments inflicted by the Anglo-Saxon laws. The laws of Ethelred contain the following injunction, ſhowing how contrary capital puniſhment is to the ſpirit of Anglo-Saxon legiſlation:—"And the ordinance of our lord, and of his witan (parliament), is, that Chriſtian men for all too little be not condemned to death; but in general let mild puniſhment be decreed, for the people's need; and let not for a little God's handywork and his own purchaſe be deſtroyed, which he dearly bought." This injunction is repeated in the laws of Canute. It appears that the uſual method of inflicting death upon criminals was by hanging. Our cut, No. 38, taken from the illuminations to Alfric's verſion of Geneſis, repreſents an Anglo-Saxon gallows (*galga*), and the rather primitive method of carrying the laſt penalty of the law into effect. The early illuminated manuſcripts give us few repreſentations of popular puniſhments. The Anglo-Saxon vocabularies enumerate the following implements of puniſhment, beſides the *galga*, or gallows: fetters (*ſæter, cops*), diſtinguiſhed into foot-fetters and hand-fetters; ſhackles (*ſcacul*, or *ſceacul*), which appear to have been uſed ſpecially for the neck; a *ſwipa*, or ſcourge; *oſtig gyrd*, a knotted rod; *tindig*, explained by the Latin *ſcorpio*, and meaning apparently a whip with knots or plummets at the end of thongs, like thoſe uſed by the charioteers in the cuts in our next chapter; and an inſtrument of torture called a *threpel*, which is explained by the Latin *equuleus*

No. 38. *Hanging.*

equuleus. The following cut, No. 39, from the Harleian MS., No. 603 (ſo often quoted), ſhows us the ſtocks, generally placed by the ſide of the public road at the entrance to the town. Two other offenders are attached to the columns of the public building, perhaps a court-houſe, by apparently a rope and a chain. The Anglo-Saxon laws preſcribe few corporal puniſhments, but ſubſtitute for them the payment of fines, or compenſation-money, and theſe are proportioned to the offences with very extraordinary minuteneſs. Thus, to ſelect a few examples from the very numerous liſt of injuries which may be done to a man's perſon,—if any one ſtruck off an ear, he was to pay twelve ſhillings, and, if an eye, fifty ſhillings; if the noſe were cut through, the payment was nine ſhillings. "For each of the four front teeth, ſix ſhillings; for the tooth which ſtands next to them, four ſhillings; for that which follows, three ſhillings; and for all the others, a ſhilling each." If a thumb were ſtruck off, it was valued at twenty ſhillings. "If the ſhooting finger were ſtruck off" (a term which ſhows how incorrectly it has been aſſumed that the Anglo-Saxons were not accuſtomed to the bow), the compenſation was eight ſhillings; for the middle finger, four ſhillings; for the ring-finger, ſix ſhillings; and for the little finger eleven ſhillings. The thumb-nail was valued at three ſhillings; and the finger-nails at one ſhilling each.



No. 39. *Anglo-Saxon Puniſhments.*

We have little information on the ſecrets of the toilette of the Anglo-Saxons. We know from many ſources that waſhing and bathing were frequent practices among them. The uſe of hot baths they probably derived from the Romans. The vocabularies give *thermæ* as the Latin equivalent. They are not unfrequently mentioned in the eccleſiaſtical laws, and in the canons paſſed in the reign of king Edgar, warm baths and ſoft beds are proſcribed as domeſtic luxuries which tended to effeminacy. If theſe were really the *thermæ* of the Romans, it is perhaps the hoſtility of the aſcetic part of the Romiſh clergy which cauſed

cauſed them to be diſcontinued and forgotten. Our cut No. 37 repreſents a party at their ablutions. We conſtantly find among the articles in the graves of Anglo-Saxon ladies tweezers, which were evidently intended for eradicating ſuperfluous hairs, a circumſtance which contributes to ſhow that they paid ſpecial attention to hair-dreſſing. To judge from the colour of the hair in ſome of the illuminations, we might be led to ſuppoſe that ſometimes they ſtained it. The young men ſeem to have been more foppiſh and vain of their perſons than the ladies, and ſome of the old chronicles, ſuch as the Ely hiſtory, tell us (which we ſhould hardly have expected) that this was eſpecially a characteriſtic of the Daniſh invaders, who, we are told, "following the cuſtom of their country, uſed to comb their hair every day, bathed every Saturday, often changed their clothes, and uſed many other ſuch frivolous means of ſetting off the beauty of their perſons."*

There is every reaſon for believing that the Anglo-Saxon ladies were fond of gardens and flowers, and many alluſions in the writings of that period intimate a warm appreciation of the beauties of nature. The poets not unfrequently take their compariſons from flowers. Thus, in a poem in the Exeter Book, a pleaſant ſmell is deſcribed as being—

Swecca ſwetaſt,	*Of odours ſweeteſt,*
ſwylce on ſumeres tid	*ſuch as in ſummer's tide*
ſtinca∂ on ſtowum,	*fragrance ſend forth in places,*
ſta∂elum fæſte,	*faſt in their ſtations,*
wynnum æfter wongum,	*joyouſly o'er the plains,*
wyrta geblowene	*blown plants*
hunig-flowende.	*honey-flowing.*—Exeter Book, p. 178.

And one of the poetical riddles in the ſame collection contains the lines—

Ic eom on ſtence	*I am in odour*
ſtrengre þonne ricels,	*ſtronger than incenſe,*
o∂∂e roſa ſy,	*or the roſe is,*
on eor∂an tyrf	*which on earth's turf*
wynlic weaxe∂;	*pleaſant grows;*

* Habebant etiam ex conſuetudine patriæ unoquoque die comam pectere, ſabbatis balneare, ſæpe etiam veſtituram mutare, et formam corporis multis talibus frivolis adjuvare.—Hist. Eliensis ap. Gale, p. 547.

ic eom wræſtre þonne heo.	*I am more delicate than it.*
þeah þa lilie ſy	*Though that the lily be*
leof mon-cynne,	*dear to mankind,*
beorht on bloſtman,	*bright in its bloſſom,*
ic eom betre þonne heo.	*I am better than it.*—Exeter Book, p. 423.

So in another of theſe poems we read—

Fæger fugla reord,	*Sweet was the ſong of birds,*
folde geblowen,	*the earth was covered with flowers,*
geacas gear budon.	*cuckoos announced the year.*—Ibid. p. 146.

Before we quit entirely the Saxon hall, and its feſtivities and ceremonies, we muſt mention one circumſtance connected with them. The laws and cuſtoms of the Anglo-Saxons earneſtly enjoined the duty of almſgiving, and a multitude of perſons partook of the hoſpitality of the rich man's manſion, who were not worthy to be admitted to his tables. Theſe aſſembled at meal-times outſide the gate of his houſe, and it was a cuſtom to lay aſide a portion of the proviſions to be diſtributed among them, with the fragments from the table. In Alfric's homily for the ſecond Sunday after Pentecoſt, the preacher, after dwelling on the ſtory of Lazarus, who was ſpurned from the rich man's table, appeals to his Anglo-Saxon audience—"many Lazaruſes ye have now lying at your gates, begging for your ſuperfluity." Bede tells us of the good king Oſwald, that when he was once ſitting at dinner, on Eaſter-day, with his biſhop, having a ſilver diſh full of dainties before him, as they were juſt ready to bleſs the bread, the ſervant whoſe duty it was to relieve the poor, came in on a ſudden and told the king that a great multitude of needy perſons from all parts were ſitting in the ſtreets begging ſome alms of the king. The latter immediately ordered the proviſions ſet before him to be carried to the poor, and the diſh to be cut in pieces and divided among them. In the picture of a Saxon houſe given in our firſt chapter (p. 15), we ſee the lord of the houſehold on a ſort of throne at the entrance to his hall, preſiding over the diſtribution of his charity. This ſeat, generally under an arch or canopy, is often repreſented in the Saxon manuſcripts, and the chief or lord ſeated under it, diſtributing juſtice or charity. In the accompanying cut, No. 40, taken from the Anglo-Saxon manuſcript

manuſcript of Prudentius, the lady Wiſdom is repreſented ſeated on ſuch a throne. It was, perhaps, the *burh-geat-ſetl*, or ſeat at the burh-gate, mentioned as characteriſtic of the rank of the thane in the following extract from a treatiſe on ranks in ſociety, printed with the Anglo-Saxon

No. 40. Wiſdom on her Throne.

laws: "And if a ceorl thrived, ſo that he had fully five hides of his own land, church (or perhaps private chapel), and kitchen (*kycenan*), bell-houſe, and burh-gate-ſeat, and ſpecial duty in the king's hall, then was he thenceforth worthy of the dignity of thane."

CHAPTER IV.

OUT OF DOOR AMUSEMENTS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.—HUNTING AND HAWKING. — HORSES AND CARRIAGES. — TRAVELLING. — MONEY-DEALINGS.

THE progreſs of ſociety from its firſt formation to the full development of civilization, has been compared not inaptly to the life of man. In the childhood and youth of ſociety, when the population was not numerous, and a ſervile claſs performed the chief part of the labour neceſſary for adminiſtering to the wants or luxuries of life, people had a far greater proportion of time on their hands to fill up with amuſements than at a later period, and many that are now conſidered frivolous, or are only indulged in at rare intervals of relaxation, then formed the principal occupations of men's lives. We have glanced at the in-door amuſements of the Anglo-Saxons in a previous chapter; but their out-door recreations, although we have little information reſpecting them, were certainly much more numerous. The multitude of followers who, in Saxon times, attended on each lord or rich man as their military chief, or as their domeſtic ſupporter, had generally no ſerious occupation during the greater part of the day; and this abundance of unemployed time was not confined to one claſs of ſociety, for the artiſan had to work leſs to gain his ſubſiſtence, and both citizen and peaſant were excuſed from work altogether during the numerous holidays of the year.

That the Anglo-Saxons were univerſally fond of play (*plega*) is proved by the frequent uſe of the word in a metaphorical ſenſe. They even applied it to fighting and battle, which, in the language of the poets, were *plega-gares* (play of darts), *æſc-plega* (play of ſhields), and *hand-plega*

plega (play of hands).* In the gloſſaries, *plegere* (a player), and *plega-man* (a playman), are uſed to repreſent the Roman *gladiator;* and *plega-hús* (a playhouſe), and *plega-ſtow* (a play-place), expreſs a theatre, or more probably an amphitheatre. Recent diſcoveries have ſhown that there was a theatre of conſiderable dimenſions in the Roman town of Verulamium (near St. Alban's); and old writers tell us there was one at the Silurian Iſca (Caerleon), though theſe buildings were doubtleſs of rare occurrence; but every Roman town of any importance in the iſland had its amphitheatre outſide the walls for gladiatorial and other exhibitions. The reſult of modern reſearches ſeems to prove that moſt of the Roman towns continued to exiſt after the Saxon ſettlement of the iſland, and we can have no doubt that the amphitheatres, at leaſt for awhile, continued to be devoted to their original purpoſes, although the performances were modified in character. Some of them (like that at Richborough, in Kent, lately examined), were certainly ſurrounded by walls, while others probably were merely cut in the ground, and ſurrounded by a low embankment formed of the material thrown out. The firſt of theſe, the Saxons would naturally call a play-houſe, while the other would receive the no leſs appropriate appellation of a play-ſtow, or place for playing. Among the illuſtrations of the Anglo-Saxon manuſcript of the Pſalms (MS. Harl., No. 603), to which we have ſo often had occaſion to refer, there is a very curious picture, evidently intended to repreſent an amphitheatre outſide a town. It is copied in our cut No. 41. The rude Anglo-Saxon draughtſman has evidently intended to repreſent an embankment, occupied by the ſpectators, around the ſpot where the performances take place. The ſpectator to the left is expreſſing his approbation by clapping with his hands. The performances themſelves are ſingular: we have a party of minſtrels, one of them playing on the Roman double pipes, ſo often repreſented in Anglo-Saxon manuſcripts, while another is dancing to him, and the third is performing with a tame bear, which is at the moment of the repreſentation ſimulating ſleep.

* It is curious that the modern English words play (*plega*), and game (*gamen*), are both derived from the Anglo-Saxon, which perhaps shows that they represent sentiments we have derived from our Saxon forefathers.

Games of this kind with animals, ſucceeded no doubt among the Saxons to the Roman gladiatorial fights, but few have imagined that the popular Engliſh exhibition of the dancing bear dated from ſo remote a period. The manuſcripts ſhow that the double pipe was in uſe among the Anglo-Saxons; with a little modification, and a bag or bellows to ſupply the

No. 41. *Games of the Amphitheatre.*

place of the human lungs, this inſtrument was transformed into a bag-pipe.

Not the leaſt curious part of this picture is the town in the back-ground, with its entrance gateway, and public buildings. The Anglo-Saxon draughtſmen were imperfectly acquainted with perſpective, and

paid little attention to proportion in their repreſentations of towns and houſes, a circumſtance which is fully illuſtrated in this picture. As the artiſt was unable from this circumſtance to repreſent the buildings and ſtreets of a town in their relative poſition, he put in a houſe to repreſent a multitude of houſes, and here he has ſimilarly given one building within the walls to repreſent all the public buildings of the town. An exactly ſimilar characteriſtic will be obſerved in our cut No. 42, taken from the ſame manuſcript, where one temple repreſents the town. Here again

No. 42. A Town.

we have a party of citizens outſide the walls, amuſing themſelves as well as they can; ſome, for want of other employment, are laying themſelves down liſtleſſly on the ground.

The national ſentiments and cuſtoms of the Anglo-Saxons would, however, lead to the ſelection of other places for the ſcenes of their games, and thus the Roman amphitheatres became neglected. Each village had its arena—its play-place—where perſons of all ages and ſexes aſſembled

aſſembled on their holidays to be players or lookers on; and this appears to have been uſually choſen near a fountain, or ſome object hallowed by the popular creed, for cuſtoms of this kind were generally aſſociated with religious feelings which tended to conſecrate and protect them. Theſe holiday games, which appear to have been very common among our Saxon forefathers, were the originals of our village wakes. Wandering minſtrels, like thoſe repreſented in our cut No. 41, repaired to them to exhibit their ſkill, and were always welcome. The young men exerted themſelves in running, or leaping, or wreſtling. Theſe games attracted merchants, and gradually became the centres of extenſive fairs. Such was the caſe with one of the moſt celebrated in England during the middle ages, that of Barnwell, near Cambridge. It was a large open place, between the town and the banks of the river, well ſuited for ſuch feſtivities as thoſe of which we are ſpeaking. A ſpring in the middle of this plain, we are told in the early chartulary of Barnwell Abbey, was called Beornawyl (the well of the youths), becauſe every year, on the eve of the Nativity of St. John the Baptiſt, the boys and youths of the neighbourhood aſſembled there, and, "after the manners of the Engliſh, practiſed wreſtling and other boyiſh games, and mutually applauded one another with ſongs and muſical inſtruments; whence, on account of the multitude of boys and girls who gathered together there, it grew a cuſtom for a crowd of ſellers and buyers to aſſemble there on the ſame day for the purpoſe of commerce."* This is a curious and a rather rare alluſion to an Anglo-Saxon wake.

One of the great recreations of the Anglo-Saxons was hunting, for which the immenſe foreſts, which then covered a great portion of this iſland, gave a wide ſcope. The moſt auſtere and pious, as well as the moſt warlike, of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs, were paſſionately attached to the pleaſures of the chaſe. According to the writer who has aſſumed

* Pueri et adolescentes, . . . illic convenientes, more Anglorum luctamina et alia ludicra exercebant puerilia, et cantilenis et musicis instrumentis sibi invicem applaudebant, unde propter turbam puerorum et puellarum illic concurrentium, mos inolevit ut in eodem die illic conveniret negotiandi gratiâ turba vendentium et ementium.—MS. Harl. No. 3601, fol. 12, v°.

the

the name of Aſſer, the great Alfred was ſo attached to this amuſement, that he condeſcended to teach his "falconers, hawkers, and dog-keepers" himſelf. His grandſon, king Ethelſtan, as we learn from William of Malmeſbury, exacted from the Welſh princes, among other articles of tribute, "as many dogs as he might chooſe, which, from their ſagacious ſcent, could diſcover the retreats and hiding-places of wild beaſts; and birds trained to make prey of others in the air." The ſame writer tells us of the ſainted Edward the Confeſſor, that "there was one earthly enjoyment in which he chiefly delighted, which was, hunting with fleet hounds, whoſe opening in the woods he uſed with pleaſure to encourage; and again, with the pouncing of birds, whoſe nature it is to prey on their kindred ſpecies. In theſe exerciſes, after hearing divine ſervice in the morning, he employed himſelf whole days." It is evident from the eccleſiaſtical laws, that it was difficult to reſtrain even the clergy from this diverſion. One of the eccleſiaſtical canons paſſed in the reign of king Edgar, enjoins "that no prieſt be a hunter, or fowler, or player at tables, but let him play on his books, as becometh his calling." When the king hunted, it appears that men were employed to beat up the game, while others were placed at different avenues of the foreſt to hinder the deer from taking a direction contrary to the wiſhes of the hunter. Several proviſions relating to the employment of men in this way, occur in the Domeſday ſurvey. A contemporary writer of the Life of Dunſtan gives the following deſcription of the hunting of king Edmund the Elder, at Ceoddri (Chedder). "When they reached the foreſt," he ſays, "they took various directions along the woody avenues, and the varied noiſe of the horns, and the barking of the dogs, arouſed many ſtags. From theſe, the king with his pack of hounds choſe one for his own hunting, and purſued it long, through devious ways with great agility on his horſe, with the hounds following. In the vicinity of Ceoddri were ſeveral ſteep and lofty precipices hanging over deep declivities. To one of theſe the ſtag came in his flight, and daſhed headlong to his deſtruction down the immense depth, all the dogs following and periſhing with him." The king with difficulty held in his horſe.

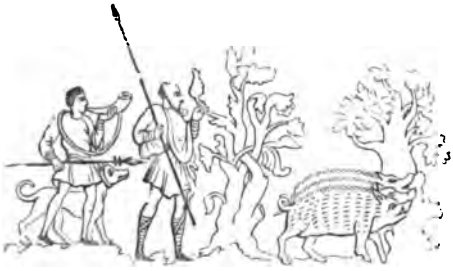
The dogs (*hundas*), uſed for the chaſe among the Anglo-Saxons, were valuable,

valuable, and were bred with great care. Every noble or great land-owner had his *hund-wealh*, or dog-keeper. The accompanying cut (No. 43), taken from the Harleian MS. No. 603, repreſents a dog-keeper, with his couple of hounds—they ſeem to have hunted in couples. The Anglo-Saxon name for a hunting-dog was *ren-hund*, a dog of chaſe, which is interpreted by greyhound; and this appears, from the cut, to have been the favourite dog of our Saxon fore-fathers. It appears by an alluſion given above, that the Saxons obtained hunting dogs from Wales; yet the antiquary will be at once ſtruck with the total diſſimilarity of the dogs pictured in the Anglo-Saxon manuſcripts, from the Britiſh dogs repreſented on the Romano-Britiſh pottery. The dogs were uſed to find the game, and follow it by the ſcent; the hunters killed it with ſpears, or with bows and arrows, or drove it into nets. In the Colloquy of Alfric, a hunter (*hunta*) of one of the royal foreſts gives a curious account of his profeſſion. When aſked how he practiſes his "craft," he replies, "I braid nets, and ſet them in a convenient place, and ſet on my hounds, that they may purſue the beaſts of chaſe, until they come unexpectedly to the nets, and ſo become intangled in them, and I ſlay them in the nets." He is then aſked if he cannot hunt without nets, to which he replies, "Yes, I purſue the wild animals with ſwift hounds." He next enumerates the different kinds of game which the Saxon hunter uſually hunted—"I take harts, and boars, and deer, and roes, and ſometimes hares." "Yeſterday," he continues, "I took two harts and a boar, . . . the harts with nets, and I ſlew the boar with my weapon." "How were you ſo hardy as to ſlay a boar?" "My hounds drove him to me, and I, there facing him, ſuddenly ſtruck him down." "You were very bold then." "A hunter muſt not be timid, for various wild beaſts dwell in the woods." It would ſeem by this, that boar-hunting was not uncommon in the more extenſive foreſts

No. 43. Anglo-Saxon Dogs.

of

of this iſland; but Sharon Turner has made a ſingular miſtake, in ſuppoſing, from a picture in the Anglo-Saxon calendar, that boar-hunting was the ordinary occupation of the month of September. The ſcene which he has thus miſtaken—or at leaſt, a portion of it—is given in our cut No. 44 (from the Cottonian MS. Claudius, C. viii.); it repreſents



No. 44. Swine-Herds.

ſwineherds driving their ſwine into the foreſts to feed upon acorns, which one of the herdſmen is ſhaking from the trees with his hand. The herdſmen were neceſſarily armed to protect the herds under their charge from robbers.

The Anglo-Saxons, as we have ſeen, were no leſs attached to hawking than hunting. The ſame Colloquy already quoted contains the following dialogue relating to the fowler (*fugelere*). To the queſtion, "How doſt thou catch birds?" he replies, "I catch them in many ways; ſometimes with nets, ſometimes with ſnares, ſometimes with bird-lime, ſometimes with whiſtling, ſometimes with a hawk, ſometimes with a trap." "Haſt thou a hawk?" "I have." "Canſt thou tame them?" "Yes, I can; of what uſe would they be to me unleſs I could tame them?" "Give me a hawk." "I will give one willingly in exchange for a ſwift hound. What kind of hawk will you have, the greater or the leſſer?" . . . "How feedeſt thou thy hawks?" "They feed themſelves and me in winter, and in ſpring I let them fly to the wood, and I catch young ones in autumn and tame them." A party of hawkers is repreſented in our cut No. 45, taken from the manuſcript laſt quoted, where it illuſtrates the

the month of October. The rude attempt at depicting a landſcape is intended to repreſent a river running from the diſtant hills into a lake, and the hawkers are hunting cranes and other water-fowl. Preſents of hawks and falcons are not unfrequently mentioned in Anglo-Saxon

No. 45. *Anglo-Saxons Hawking.*

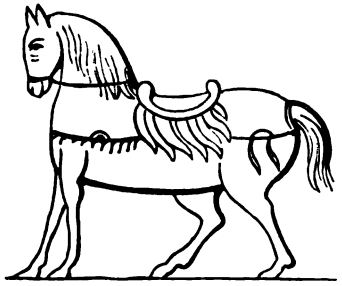
writers; and in a will, an Anglo-Saxon leaves to his natural lord "two hawks and all his ſtag-hounds."

The Saxon youths were proud of their ſkill in horſemanſhip. Bede relates an anecdote of the youthful days of Herebald, abbot of Tynemouth, when he attended upon biſhop John of Beverley, from Herebald's own words—"It happened one day," the latter ſaid, "that as we were travelling with him (the biſhop), we came into a plain and open road, well adapted for galloping our horſes. The young men that were with him, and particularly thoſe of the laity, began to entreat the biſhop to give them leave to gallop, and make trial of the goodneſs of their horſes. . . . . When they had ſeveral times galloped backwards and forwards, the biſhop and I looking on, my wanton humour prevailed, and I could no longer refrain; but, though he forbade me, I ſtruck in among them, and began to ride at

No. 46. *Anglo-Saxons on a Journey.*

at full ſpeed." Horſes were uſed chiefly by the upper claſſes of ſociety in travelling. Two of a party of Saxon travellers are repreſented in our cut No. 46 (from MS. Cotton. Claudius, B. iv.). The lady, it will be obſerved, rides ſideways, as in modern times, and the illuminated manuſcripts of different periods furniſh us with examples enough to ſhow that ſuch was always the practice; yet an old writer has aſcribed the introduction of ſide-ſaddles into this country to Anne of Bohemia, the queen of Richard II., and the ſtatement has been repeated by writers on coſtume, who too often blindly compile from one another without examining carefully the original ſources of information.* The next cut, No. 47 (taken from MS. Harl. No. 603), repreſents a horſeman with his arms, the ſpear, and the round ſhield, with its boſs, which reminds us of thoſe frequently found in the early Anglo-Saxon graves. The horſe furniture is tolerably well defined in theſe figures. The forms of the ſpur (*ſpura*) and the ſtirrup (called in Anglo-Saxon *ſtirap* and *hlypa*) are very peculiar. Moſt of the furniture of the horſe was then, as now, of leather, and was made by the ſhoemaker

No. 47. An Anglo-Saxon Horſeman.



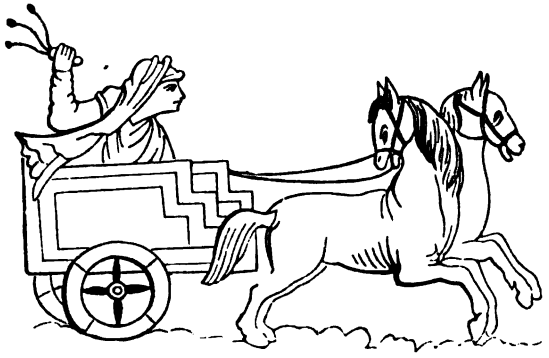
No. 48. Anglo-Saxon Horſe Fittings.

* This erroneous statement is repeated by most of our writers on such subjects, and will be found in Mr. Planché's "History of British Costume." Statements of this kind made by old writers are seldom to be depended upon; people were led by political bias or personal partiality, to ascribe the introduction of customs that were odious, to persons who were unpopular, or whom they disliked, while they ascribed everything of a contrary character to persons who were beloved.

(*ſe*

(*ſe ſceowyrhta*), who ſeems to have been the general manufacturer of articles in this material. Alfric's Colloquy enumerates among the articles made by the ſhoemaker, bridle-thongs (*bridel-thwancgas*), harneſſes (*gerœda*), ſpur-leathers (*ſpur-lethera*), and halters (*hælfra*). The form of the ſaddle is ſhown in the repreſentation of a horſe without a rider, given, from the manuſcript laſt quoted, in our cut No. 48.

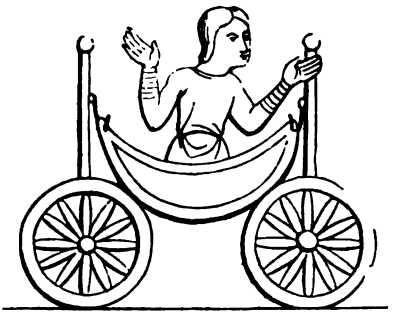
In the Anglo-Saxon church hiſtories, we meet with frequent inſtances of perſons, who were unable to walk from ſickneſs or other cauſe, being carried in carts or cars, but in moſt caſes theſe ſeem to have been nothing but the common agricultural carts adapted temporarily to this uſage. A horſe-litter is on one occaſion uſed for the ſame purpoſe. It is certain,



No. 49. A Chariot.

however, that the Anglo-Saxons had chariots for travelling. The uſual names of all vehicles of this kind were *wægn* or *wœn* (from which, our *waggon*) and *crat* or *crœt* (which appears to be the origin of the Engliſh word *cart*). Theſe two terms appear to have been uſed ſynonymouſly, for the words of the 18th Pſalm, *hi in curribus*, are tranſlated in one Anglo-Saxon verſion by *on wœnum*, and in another by *in crœtum*. The Anglo-Saxon manuſcripts give us various repreſentations of vehicles for travelling. The one repreſented in the cut No. 49 is taken from the Anglo-Saxon manuſcript of Prudentius. It ſeems to have been a barbaric "improvement" upon the Roman *biga*, and is not much unlike our

modern market-carts. The whip uſed by the lady who is driving ſo furiouſly, is of the ſame form as that uſed by the horſewoman in our cut No. 46. The artiſt has not ſhown the *wægne-thixl*, or ſhaft. A four-wheeled carriage, of rather a ſingular conſtruction, is found often repeated, with ſome variations, in the illuminations of the manuſcript of Alfric's tranſlation of the Pentateuch. One of them is given in our cut No. 50. It is quite evident that a good deal of the minor detail of conſtruction has been omitted by the draughtsman. Anglo-Saxon gloſſes give the word *rad* to repreſent the Latin *quadriga*. From the ſame ſource we learn that the compound word *wæn-fær*, waggon-going, was uſed to expreſs journeying in chariots.



No. 50. An Anglo-Saxon Carriage.

Riding in chariots muſt have been rare among the Anglo-Saxons. Horſes were only uſed by the better claſſes of ſociety; and we learn from Bede and other writers that pious eccleſiaſtics, ſuch as biſhops Aidan, Ceadda, and Cuthbert, thought it more conſiſtent with the humility of their ſacred character to journey on foot. The pedeſtrian carried either a ſpear or a ſtaff; the rider had almoſt always a ſpear. It is noted of Cuthbert, in Bede's life of that ſaint, that one day when he came to Mailros (Melroſe), and would enter the church to pray, having leaped from his horſe, he "gave the latter and his travelling ſpear to the care of a ſervant, for he had not yet reſigned the dreſs and habits of a layman." The weapon was, no doubt, neceſſary for perſonal ſafety. There is a very curious clauſe in the Anglo-Saxon laws of king Alfred, relating to an accident ariſing from the carrying the ſpear, which we can hardly underſtand, although to require a ſpecial law it muſt have been of frequent occurrence; this law provides that "if a man have a ſpear over his ſhoulder, and *any man ſtake himſelf upon it*," the carrier of the ſpear incurred ſevere puniſhment, "if the point be three fingers higher than the hindmoſt part of the

the ſhaft." He was not conſidered blameable if he held the ſpear quite horizontally.

The traveller always wore a covering for his head, which, though of various ſhapes, none of which reſembled our modern hat, was characteriſed by the general term of *hæt*. He ſeems to have been further protected againſt the inclemency of the weather by a cloak or mantle (*mentel*). One would be led to ſuppoſe that this outer garment was more varied in form and material than any other part of the dreſs, from the great number of names which we find applied to it, ſuch as *baſing, hæcce, hæcela,* or *hacela, pæll, pylca, ſcyccels, wæfels,* &c. The writings which remain throw no light upon the proviſions made by travellers againſt rain; for the dictionary-makers who give *ſcúr-ſcead* (ſhower-ſhade) as ſignifying an umbrella, are certainly miſtaken.* Yet that umbrellas were known to the Anglo-Saxons is proved beyond a doubt by a figure in the Harleian manuſcript, No. 603, which is given in our cut No. 51. A ſervant or attendant is holding an umbrella over the head of a man who appears to be covered at the ſame time with the cloak or mantle.

No. 51. *An Anglo-Saxon Umbrella.*

Travelling to any diſtance muſt have been rendered more uncomfortable, eſpecially when paſſing through wild diſtricts where there were no inns. The word *inn* is itſelf Saxon, and ſignified a lodging, but it appears to have been more uſually applied to houſes of this kind in towns. A tavern was alſo called a *geſt-hus* or *geſt-bur*, a houſe or chamber for gueſts, and *cumena-hus*, a houſe of comers. Gueſt-houſes, like caravanſerais in the Eaſt, appear to have been eſtabliſhed in different parts of Saxon England, near the high roads, for the recep-

* The word occurs in the reflections of our first parents on their nakedness, in the poem attributed to Cædmon. Adam says that when the inclement weather arrives (*cymeð hægles ſcúr*—the hail shower will come) they had nothing before them to serve for a defence or shade against the storm—

"*Nyſ unc wuht beforan*
to ſcur ſceade."

tion

tion of travellers. A traveller in Bede arrives at a *hoſpitium* in the north of England, which was kept by a *paterfamilias* (or father of a family) and his houſehold. In the Northumbrian gloſs on the Pſalms, printed by the Surtees Society, the Latin words of Pſalm liv., *in hoſpitiis eorum*, are rendered by *in geſt-huſum heara*. This ſhows that Bede's *hoſpitium* was really a gueſt-houſe: theſe gueſt-houſes were kept up in various parts of England until Norman times; and Walter Mapes, in his treatiſe de Nugis Curialium, has preſerved a ſtory relating to one of William the Conqueror's Saxon opponents, Edric the Wild, which tells how, returning from hunting in the foreſt of Dean, and accompanied only with a page, he came to a large houſe, "like the drinking houſes of which the Engliſh have one in every pariſh, called in Engliſh gild-houſes," perhaps an error for gueſt-houſes (*quales Anglici in ſingulis ſingulas habebant diocefibus bibitorias, ghildhus Anglice dictas*). It ſeems not improbable, alſo, that the ruins of Roman villas and ſmall ſtations, which ſtood by the ſides of roads, were often roughly repaired or modified, ſo as to furniſh a temporary ſhelter for travellers who carried proviſions, &c., with them, and could therefore lodge themſelves without depending upon the aſſiſtance of others. A ſhelter of this kind—from its conſiſting of bare walls, a mere ſhelter againſt the inclemency of the ſtorm—might be termed a *ceald-hereberga* (cold harbour), and this would account for the great number of places in different parts of England, which bear this name, and which are almoſt always on Roman ſites and near old roads. The explanation is ſupported by the circumſtance that the name is found among the Teutonic nations on the continent—the German *Kalten-herberg*—borne by ſome inns at the preſent day.

The deficiency of ſuch comforts for travellers in Anglo-Saxon times was compenſated by the extenſive practice of hoſpitality, a virtue which was effectually inculcated by the cuſtoms of the people as well as by the civil and eccleſiaſtical laws. When a ſtranger preſented himſelf at a Saxon door, and aſked for board and lodging, the man who refuſed them was looked upon with contempt by his countrymen. In the ſeventh century, as we learn from the Pœnitentiale of archbiſhop Theodore, the refuſal to give lodging to a ſtranger (*quicunque hoſpitem non receperit in domum*

domum ſuam) was conſidered worthy of eccleſiaſtical cenſure. And in the Eccleſiaſtical Inſtitutes, drawn up at a later period, and printed in the collection of Anglo-Saxon laws, it is ſtated that "It is alſo very needful to every maſſ-prieſt, that he diligently exhort and teach his pariſhioners that they be hoſpitable, and not refuſe their houſes to any wayfaring man, but do for his comfort, for love of God, what they then will or can; . . . . but let thoſe who, for love of God, receive every ſtranger, deſire not any worldly reward." Bede deſcribes as the firſt act of "the cuſtom of hoſpitality" (*mos hoſpitalitatis*) the waſhing of the ſtranger's feet and hands; they then offered him refreſhment, and he was allowed to remain two nights without being queſtioned, after which period the hoſt became anſwerable for his character. The eccleſiaſtical laws limited the hoſpitality to be ſhown to a prieſt to one night, becauſe if he remained longer it was a proof that he was neglecting his duties.

Taverns of an ordinary deſcription, where there was probably no accommodation for travellers, ſeem to have been common enough under the Anglo-Saxons; and it muſt be confeſſed that there ſeems to be too much reaſon for believing that people ſpent a great deal of their leiſure time in them; even the clergy appear to have been tempted to frequent them. In the Eccleſiaſtical Inſtitutes, quoted above, maſſ-prieſts are forbidden to eat or drink at ale-houſes (*æt ceap-ealothelum*). And it is ſtated in the ſame curious record that, "It is a very bad cuſtom that many men practiſe, both on Sundays and alſo other maſſ-days; that is, that ſtraightways at early morn they deſire to hear maſs, and immediately after the maſs, from early morn the whole day over, in drunkenneſs and ſeaſting they miniſter to their belly, not to God."

Merchant travellers ſeem, in general, to have congregated together in parties or ſmall caravans, both for companionſhip and as a meaſure of mutual defence againſt robbers. In ſuch caſes they probably carried tents with them, and formed little encampments at night, like the pedlars and itinerant dealers in later times. Men who travelled alone were expoſed to other dangers beſides that of robbery; for a ſolitary wanderer was always looked upon with ſuſpicion, and he was in danger himſelf of being taken for a thief. He was compelled, therefore, by his own intereſt and

by

by the law of the land, to ſhow that he had no wiſh to avoid obſervation; one of the earlier Anglo-Saxon codes of laws, that of king Wihtræd, directed that "if a man come from afar, or a ſtranger go out of the high way, and he then neither ſhout nor blow a horn, he is to be accounted a thief, either to be ſlain, or to be redeemed."

So prevalent, indeed, was theft and unfair dealing among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, and ſo much litigation and unjuſt perſecution aroſe from diſputed claims to property which had been, or was pretended to have been, purchaſed, that it was made illegal to buy or ſell without witneſſes. It would be eaſy to multiply examples of robbery and plunder from Anglo-Saxon writers; but I will only ſtate that, according to the Ely hiſtory, ſome merchants from Ireland, having come to Cambridge in the time of king Edgar, to offer their wares for ſale, perhaps at the

No. 52. Taking Toll.

annual feſtivities of the Beorna-wyl, mentioned above, a *prieſt* of the place was guilty of ſtealing a part of their merchandiſe. We know but little of the trades and forms of commercial dealings of the Anglo-Saxons; but we may take our leave of the period of which we have been hitherto treating, with a few figures relating to money matters, from the Anglo-Saxon manuſcript of the Pſalms (MS. Harl. No. 603). The cut No. 52 repreſents, apparently, a man in the market, or at the gates of a city, taking

taking toll for merchandiſe. The ſcales are for weighing, not the merchandiſe, but the money. The word *pund*, or pound, implies that the money was reckoned by weight; and the word *mancus*, another term for a certain ſum of money, is alſo conſidered to have been a weight. Anglo-Saxon writings frequently ſpeak of money as given by weight. Our cut No. 53 is a repreſentation of the merchant, or the toll-taker, ſeated before his account book, with his ſcales hanging to the deſk. In the firſt of theſe cuts, a man holds the bag or purſe, in which the money received for toll or merchandiſe is depoſited. The cut No. 54 repreſents the

No. 53. A Money Taker.

No. 54. Putting Treaſure by.

receiver pouring the money out of his bag into the *cyſt*, or cheſt, in which it is to be locked up and kept in his treaſury. It is hardly neceſſary to ſay that there were no banking-houſes among the Anglo-Saxons. The cheſt, or coffer, in which people kept their money and other valuables, appears to have formed part of the furniture of the chamber, as being the moſt private apartment; and it may be remarked that a rich man's wealth uſually conſiſted much more in jewels and valuable plate than in money.

We cannot but remark how little change the manners and the ſentiments of our Saxon forefathers underwent during the long period that we are in any way acquainted with them. During the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, Norman faſhions were introduced at court, but their influence on the nation at large appears to have been very trifling. Even after the Norman conqueſt the Engliſh manners and faſhions retained their hold on the people, and at later periods they continually re-appear to aſſert their natural rights among the deſcendants of the Anglo-Saxons.

CHAPTER V.

THE EARLY NORMAN PERIOD.—LUXURIOUSNESS OF THE NORMANS.—ADVANCE IN DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE.—THE KITCHEN AND THE HALL.—PROVISIONS AND COOKERY.—BEES.—THE DAIRY.—MEAL-TIMES AND DIVISIONS OF THE DAY.—FURNITURE.—THE FALDESTOL.—CHAIRS AND OTHER SEATS.

A GREAT change was wrought in this country by the entrance of the Normans. From what we have ſeen, in the courſe of the preceding chapters, ſociety ſeems for a long time to have been at a ſtand-ſtill among the Anglo-Saxons, as though it had progreſſed as far as its own ſimple vitality would carry it, and wanted ſome new impulſe to move it onwards. By the entrance of the Normans, the Saxon ariſtocracy was deſtroyed; but the lower and, in a great meaſure, the middle claſſes were left untouched in their manners and cuſtoms, which they appear to have preſerved for a conſiderable length of time without any material change. The Norman hiſtorians, who write with prejudice when they ſpeak of the Saxons, deſcribe their nobility as having become luxurious without refinement; and they tell us that the Normans introduced greater ſobriety, accompanied with more oſtentation. "The nobility," ſays William of Malmeſbury, "was given up to luxury and wantonneſs. . . . . Drinking in parties was an univerſal practice, in which occupation they paſſed entire nights as well as days. They conſumed their whole ſubſtance in mean and deſpicable houſes; unlike the Normans and French, who, in noble and ſplendid manſions, lived with frugality. The vices attendant on drunkenneſs, which enervate the human mind, followed. . . . In fine, the Engliſh at that time (under king Harold) wore ſhort garments, reaching to the mid-knee; they had their hair cropped, their beards ſhaven, their arms laden with golden bracelets, their ſkin adorned

adorned with punctured deſigns; they were accuſtomed to eat till they became ſurfeited, and to drink till they were ſick. Theſe latter qualities they imparted to their conquerors; whoſe manners, in other reſpects, they adopted."

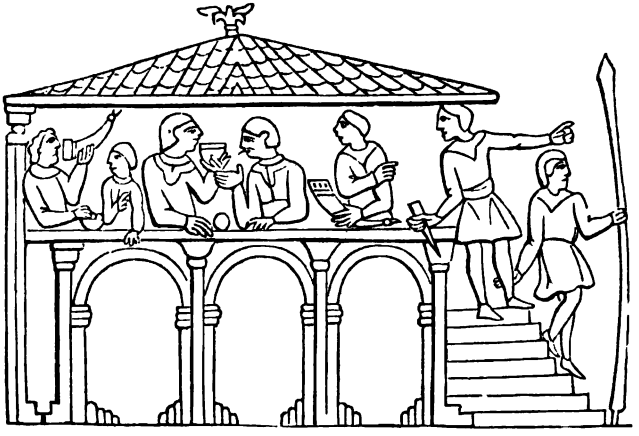
Whatever moderation the Normans may have brought with them, or however they may have been reſtrained by the firſt Anglo-Norman monarch, it diſappeared entirely under his ſon and ſucceſſor: "when," in the words of William of Malmeſbury, "everything was ſo changed, that there was no man rich except the money-changer, and no clerks but lawyers. . . . The courtiers then preyed upon the property of the country people, and conſumed their ſubſtance, taking the very meat from their mouths. Then was there flowing hair and extravagant dreſs; and then was invented the faſhion of ſhoes with curved points; then the model for young men was to rival women in delicacy of perſon, to mince their gait, to walk with looſe geſture, and half naked." This increaſing diſſoluteneſs of manners appears to have received no effectual check under the reign of the firſt Henry; in the twenty-ninth year of which, the writer juſt quoted tells us that "a circumſtance occurred in England, which may ſeem ſurpriſing to our long-haired gallants, who, forgetting what they were born, transform themſelves into the faſhion of females, by the length of their locks. A certain Engliſh knight, who prided himſelf on the luxuriance of his treſſes, being conſcience-ſtung on the ſubject, ſeemed to feel in a dream as though ſome perſon ſtrangled him with his ringlets. Awaking in a fright, he immediately cut off all his ſuperfluous hair. The example ſpread throughout England; and, as recent puniſhment is apt to affect the mind, almoſt all the barons allowed their hair to be cropped in a proper manner, without reluctance. But this decency was not of long continuance; for ſcarcely had a year expired, before all thoſe who thought themſelves courtly, relapſed into their former vice; they vied with women in length of locks, and wherever theſe were wanting, put on falſe treſſes; forgetful, or rather ignorant, of the ſaying of the Apoſtle, 'If a man nurture his hair, it is a ſhame to him.'" Public and private manners were gradually running into the terrible lawleſſneſs of the reign of king Stephen.

William of Malmeſbury points out as one of the more remarkable circumſtances which diſtinguiſhed the Normans from the Saxons, the magnitude and ſolidity of their domeſtic buildings. The Anglo-Saxons ſeem, indeed, to have preſerved the old national prejudice of their race againſt confining themſelves within ſtone walls, while the Normans and Franks, who were more influenced by Roman traditions, had become great builders. We have ſcarcely any information relative to the progreſs of domeſtic architecture under William the Conqueror, but the Norman chiefs ſeem from the firſt to have built themſelves houſes of a much more ſubſtantial character than thoſe which they found in exiſtence. The reſidence of the Conqueror, while engaged in his operations againſt the inſurgents in the iſle of Ely, is imperfectly deſcribed by the anonymous author of the life of Hereward. It conſiſted of the hall, kitchen, and other buildings, which were incloſed by hedges and foſſes (*per ſepes et foveas*), and it had an interior and exterior court. Towards the end of the Conqueror's reign, and in that of his ſon, were raiſed thoſe early Norman baronial caſtles, the maſonry of which has withſtood the ravages of ſo many centuries. Under William and his ſons, few ordinary manſions and dwelling houſes ſeem to have been built ſubſtantially of ſtone; I am not aware that there are any known remains of a ſtone manſion in this country older than the reign of Henry II. The miracles of St. Cuthbert, related by Reginald of Durham, contain one or two alluſions to the private houſes of the earlier part of the twelfth century. Thus a pariſhioner of Kellow, near Durham, in the time of biſhop Walter Rufus (1133—1140), is deſcribed as paſſing the evening drinking with the pariſh prieſt; returning home late, he was purſued by dogs, and reaching his own houſe in great terror, contrived to ſhut the door (*oſtium domus*) upon them. He then went up to what, from the context, appears to have been the window of an upper floor or garret (*ad feneſtram parietis*), which he opened in order to look down with ſafety on his perſecutors. He was ſuddenly ſeized with madneſs, and his family being rouſed, ſeized him, carried him down into the court (*in area*), and bound him to the ſeats (*ad ſedilia*). The ſame writer tells the ſtory of a blind woman in the city of Durham, who uſed to run her head againſt the

the projecting windows of the houſes (*ad feneſtrarum dependentia foris laquearia*).

We trace in the illuminations of the earlier Norman period the cuſtom of placing the principal apartment at an elevation from the ground. The ſimple plan of the ſtone-built houſe of the latter part of this century, conſiſted of a ſquare room on the ground floor, often vaulted, and of one room above it, which was the principal apartment, and the ſleeping-room. This was approached by a ſtaircaſe, ſometimes external and ſometimes internal, and it had a fire-place (*cheminée*), though this was not always the caſe in the room below. The lower room was the hall, and the upper apartment was called a *ſolar*, or *ſoller* (*ſolarium*), a word which has been ſuppoſed to be derived from *ſol*, the ſun, which was more felt in this upper room than in the lower, inaſmuch as it was better lighted—it was the ſunny room. Yet, even here, the windows were ſmall, and without glaſs. We learn from Joscelin de Brakelonde that, in the year 1182, Samſon, abbot of Bury, while lodging in a grange, or manor-houſe, belonging to his abbey, narrowly eſcaped being burnt with the houſe, becauſe the only door of the upper ſtory in which he was lodged happened to be locked, and the windows were too narrow to admit of his paſſing through them. In the early Engliſh "Ancren Riewle," or rule of nuns, publiſhed by the Camden Society, there are ſeveral alluſions to the windows of the parlour, or private room, which ſhow that they were not glazed, but uſually covered with a cloth, or blind, which allowed ſufficient light to paſs, and that they had ſhutters on hinges which cloſed them entirely. In talking of the danger of indulging the eyes, the writer of this treatiſe (p. 50) ſays, "My dear ſiſters, love your windows"—they are called in the original text *thurles*, holes through the wall—"as little as you may, and let them be ſmall, and the parlour's leaſt and narroweſt; let the cloth in them be twofould, black cloth, the croſs white within and without." The writer goes on to moralise on the white croſs upon a black ground. In another part of the book (p. 97), the author ſuppoſes that men may come and ſeek to converſe with the nuns through the window, and goes on to ſay, "If any man become ſo mad and unreaſonable that he put forth his hand towards the window-cloth

cloth (*the thurl-cloth*), ſhut the window quickly and leave him." Under the hall, when it was raiſed above the level of the ground, there was often another vaulted room, which was the cellar, and which ſeems to have been uſually entered from the inſide of the building. In the accompanying cut (No. 55), taken from the celebrated tapeſtry of Bayeux, are ſeen Harold and his companions carouſing in an apartment thus ſituated, and approached by a ſtaircaſe from without. The object of this was, perhaps, partly to be more private, for the ordinary public hall at dinner times ſeems to have been invaded by troops of hungry hangers on, who ate up or carried away the proviſions which were taken from the



No. 55. A Norman Carouſal.

table, and became ſo bold that they ſeem to have often ſeized or tried to ſeize the proviſions from the cooks as they carried them to the table. William Rufus eſtabliſhed uſhers of the hall and kitchen, whoſe duty it was to protect the gueſts and the cooks from this rude rabble. Gaimar's deſcription of that king's grand feaſt at Weſtminſter, contains ſome curious alluſions to this practice. After telling us that three hundred uſhers (*uſſers*, i.e. *huiſſiers*), or doorkeepers, were appointed to occupy the entrance paſſages (*us*), who were to ſtand with rods to protect the gueſts as they mounted the ſteps from the importunity of the *garſons*—

Cil

Cil cunduaient les barons
Par les degreꝛ, pur les garçons;
Od les verges k'es mains teneient
As barons vaie feſaient,
Ke jà garçon ne ſ'apremaſt,
Si alcon d'els ne l' comandaſt—

he adds, that thoſe who carried the proviſions and liquor to the table

No. 56. The Norman Butler in his Office.

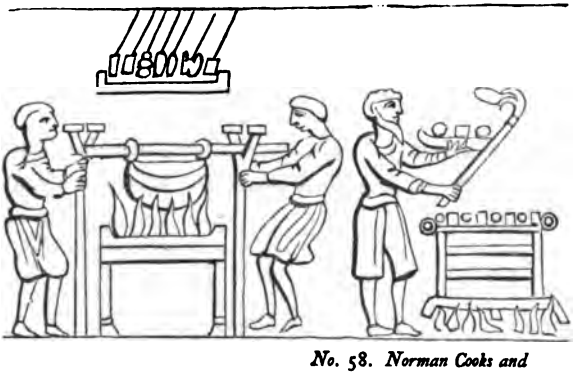
were alſo attended by theſe uſhers, that the "*lecheurs*" might not ſnatch from them, or ſpoil, or break, the veſſels in which they carried them:—

Enſement tut revenaient par els
Cil ki aportouent les mès
De la quiſine e des meſters,
E li beveres e li mangers,
Icil uſſer les cunduaient,
Pur la veſſele dunt ſervaient,
Ke lecheur ne les eſcheçaſt,
Ne malmeiſt, ne defruſſaſt.—Gaimar, Estorie des Engles, l. 5985.

In the cut from the Bayeux tapeſtry, the feaſting-room is approached by

by what is evidently a ſtaircaſe of ſtone. In our cut No. 56, taken from a manuſcript of the earlier half of the twelfth century in the Cottonian library (Nero, C. iv.), and illuſtrating the ſtory of the marriage feaſt at Cana, the ſtaircaſe is apparently of wood, little better than a ladder, and the ſervants who are carrying up the wine aſſiſt themſelves in mounting by means of a rope. It is a picture which at the ſame time exhibits ſeveral characteriſtics of domeſtic life—the wine veſſels, the cupboard in which they are kept, and the well in the court-yard, the latter being indicated by the tree. The butler, finding wine run ſhort, ſends the ſervant to draw water from the well. It may be remarked that this appears to have been the common machinery of the draw-well among our forefathers in the middle ages—a rude lever, formed by the attachment of a heavy weight, perhaps of lead, at one end of the beam, which was ſufficient to raiſe the other end, and thus draw up the bucket. It occurs in illuminations in manuſcripts of various periods; our example in cut No. 57 is taken from MS. Harl. No. 1257, of the fourteenth century.

No. 57. A Draw-Well.

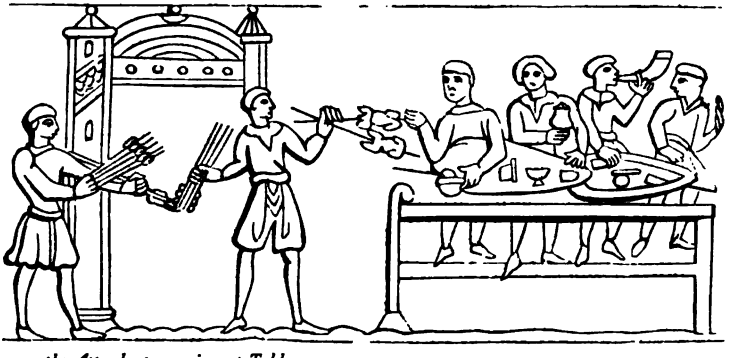


No. 58. Norman Cooks and

Whatever truth there may be in William of Malmeſbury's account of the ſobriety of the Normans, there can be no doubt that the kitchen and the

the cooks formed with them a very important part of the houſehold. According to the Bayeux tapeſtry, duke William brought with him from Normandy a complete kitchen eſtabliſhment, and a compartment of that intereſting monument, of which we here give a diminiſhed copy, ſhows that when he landed he found no difficulty in providing a dinner. On the left two cooks are boiling the meat—for this ſtill was the general way of cooking it, as it was uſually eaten ſalted. Above them, on a ſhelf, are fowls, and other ſorts of ſmall viands, ſpitted ready for roaſting. Another cook is engaged at a portable ſtove, preparing ſmall cakes, paſties, &c., which he takes from the ſtove with a ſingularly formed fork to place them on the diſh. Others are carrying to the table the roaſted meats, on the ſpits. It will be obſerved that having no "board" with them to form a table, the Norman knights make uſe of their ſhields inſtead.

The reader of the life of Hereward will remember the ſcene in which the hero in diſguiſe is taken into king William's kitchen, to entertain the cooks. After dinner the wine and ale were diſtributed freely, and the reſult was a violent quarrel between the cooks and Hereward; the former uſed the tridents and forks for weapons (*cum tridentibus et furcis*), while he took the ſpit from the fire (*de foco haſtile*) as a ſtill more formidable



the Attendants serving at Table.

weapon of defence. In the early Chanſon de Roland, Charlemagne is deſcribed alſo carrying his cooks with him to the war, as William the Conqueror

Conqueror is pictured in the Bayeux tapeſtry, and they held ſo important a poſition in his houſehold, that, when one of his moſt powerful barons, Guenelon, was accuſed of treaſon, Charlemagne is made to deliver him in cuſtody to the charge of his cooks, who place him under the guard of a hundred of the "kitchen companions," and theſe treat him much in the ſame way as king William's cooks ſought to treat Hereward, by cutting or plucking out his beard and whiſkers.

Li reis fait prendre le cunte Guanelun,
Si l'cumandat as cous de ſa maiſun,
Tut li plus maiſtre en apelet Beſgun:
'Ben le me guarde, ſi cume tel felon,
De ma maiſnée ad faite traiſun.'
Cil le receit, ſi met c. cumpaignons
De la quiſine, des mielz e des pejurs;
Icil li peilent la barbe e les gernuns.—Chanson de Roland, p. 71.

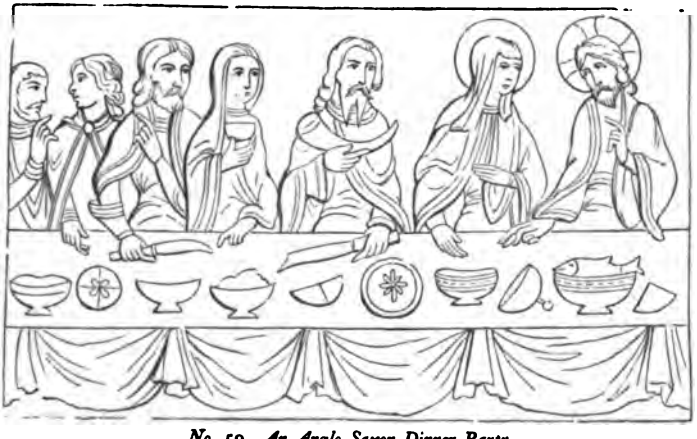
Alexander Neckam, in his Dictionarius (written in the latter part of the twelfth century), begins with the kitchen, as though he conſidered it as the moſt important part of a manſion, and deſcribes its furniture rather minutely. There is good reaſon, however, for believing that the cooking was very commonly performed in the court of the houſe in the open air, and perhaps it was intended to be repreſented ſo in the ſcene given above from the Bayeux tapeſtry. The cooks are there delivering the food through a door into the hall.

The Norman dinner-table, as ſhown in the Bayeux tapeſtry, differs not much from that of the Anglo-Saxons. A few diſhes and baſins contain viands which are not eaſy to be recogniſed, except the fiſh and the fowls. Moſt of the ſmaller articles ſeem to have been given by the cooks into the hands of the gueſts from the ſpits on which they had been roaſted. Another dinner ſcene is repreſented in our cut No. 59, taken from the Cottonian manuſcript already mentioned (Nero, C. iv.). We ſee again ſimilarly formed veſſels to thoſe uſed at table by the Anglo-Saxons. The bread is ſtill made in round flat cakes, and is marked with a croſs, and with a flower in the middle. The gueſts uſe no forks; their knives are different and more varied in their forms than under the Anglo-

Saxons

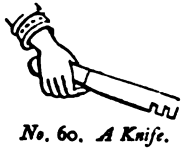
Saxons. Sometimes, indeed, the ſhape of the knives is almoſt groteſque. The one repreſented below, in our cut No. 60, is taken from a group in the ſame manuſcript which furniſhed the preceding cut; it is very ſingularly notched at the point.

We ſee in theſe dinner ſcenes that the Anglo-Normans uſed horns and cups for drinking, as the Anglo-Saxons did; but the uſe of the horn



No. 59. *An Anglo-Saxon Dinner Party.*

is becoming rare, and the bowl-ſhaped veſſels appear to have been now the uſual drinking cup. Among the wealthy theſe cups ſeem to have been made of glaſs. Reginald of Durham deſcribes one of the monks as bringing water for a ſick man to drink in a glaſs cup (*vaſe vitreo*), which was accidentally broken. In a ſplendidly illuminated manuſcript of the Pſalms, of the earlier half of the twelfth century, written by Eadwine, one of the monks of Canterbury, and which will afford much illuſtration for this period,* we find a figure of a ſervant



No. 60. *A Knife.*

* This valuable MS. is preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. It is a very remarkable circumstance, which has not hitherto been noticed, that the illuminations are in general copies from those of the Harleian MS. No. 603, except that the costume and other circumstances are altered, so that we may take them as correct representatives of the manners of the Anglo-Normans.

giving to drink, who holds one of the ſame deſcription of drinking cups which were ſo popular at an earlier period among the Anglo-Saxons (ſee our cut No. 61). He holds in the left hand the jug, which had now become the uſual veſſel for carrying the liquor in any quantity. In our cut

No. 61. A Cup-bearer.

No. 62. The Servant in the Cellar.

No. 62, furniſhed by the ſame manuſcript as the preceding, the ſervant is taking the jug of liquor from the barrel. Our next cut, No. 63, alſo taken from the Cambridge MS., repreſents ſeveral forms of veſſels for the table. Some of theſe are new to us; and they are on the whole more elegant than moſt of the forms we meet with in common pictures.

No. 63. Anglo-Norman Pottery.

Wine appears to have been now more frequently uſed than among the Anglo-Saxons. Neckam, in the latter part of the twelfth century, has given us a rather playful enumeration of the qualities of good wine; which he ſays ſhould be as clear as the tears of a penitent, ſo that a man may ſee diſtinctly to the bottom of his glaſs; its colour "ſhould repreſent the greenneſs of a buffalo's horn; when drunk, it ſhould deſcend impetuouſly like thunder, ſweet-taſted as an almond, creeping like a ſquirrel, leaping like a roe-buck, ſtrong like the building of a Ciſtercian monaſtery, glittering like a ſpark of fire, ſubtle as the logic of the ſchools of Paris, delicate as fine ſilk,

ſilk, and colder than cryſtal." Yet ſtill ale and mead continued to be the uſual drinks. The innumerable entries in Domeſday Book ſhow us how large a proportion of the productions of the country, in the reign of William the Conqueror, ſtill conſiſted in honey, which was uſed chiefly for the manufacture of mead. The manuſcript in Trinity College Library, gives us a group of bee-hives (cut No. 64), with peaſants attending to them; and is chiefly curious for the extraordinary forms which the artiſt, evidently no naturaliſt, has given to the bees.

No. 64. Anglo-Norman Bee-keepers.

We have hardly any information on the cookery during the period we are now deſcribing. It is clear that numerous delicacies were ſerved to the tables of the noble and wealthy, but their culinary receipts are not preſerved. We read in William of Malmeſbury, incidentally, that a great prince ate garlick with a gooſe, from which we are led to ſuppoſe that the Normans were fond of highly-ſeaſoned diſhes. Neckam tells us that pork, roaſted or broiled on red embers, required no other ſauce than ſalt or garlick; that a capon done in gobbets ſhould be well peppered; that a gooſe, roaſted on the ſpit, required a ſtrong garlick-ſauce, mixed with wine or "the green juice of grapes or crabs;" that a hen, if boiled, ſhould be cut up and ſeaſoned with cummin, but, if roaſted, it ſhould be baſted with lard, and might be ſeaſoned with garlick-ſauce, though it would be more ſavoury with ſimple ſauce; that fiſh ſhould be cooked in a ſauce compoſed of wine and water, and that they ſhould afterwards be ſerved with a ſauce compoſed of ſage, parſley, coſt, ditany, wild thyme, and garlick, with pepper and ſalt. We learn from other incidental alluſions of contemporary, or nearly contemporary, writers, that bread, butter, and cheeſe, were the ordinary food of the common people, probably with little elſe beſides vegetables. It is intereſting to remark that the three articles juſt mentioned, have preſerved their Anglo-Saxon names to the preſent times, while all kinds of meat, beef, veal, mutton, pork, even bacon, have retained only the names given to them by the Normans, which

which ſeems to imply that fleſh-meat was not in general uſe for food among the lower claſſes of ſociety.

Bread ſeems almoſt always to have been formed in cakes, like our buns, round in the earlier pictures, and in later ones (as in our cut No. 63), ſhaped more fancifully. We ſee it generally marked with a croſs, perhaps a ſuperſtitious precaution of the baker. The bread ſeems to have been in general made for the occaſion, and eaten freſh, perhaps warm. In one of Reginald of Durham's ſtories, we are told of a prieſt in the foreſt of Arden, who, having nothing but a peck of corn left, and receiving a large number of viſitors on a ſacred feſtival, gave it out to be baked to provide for them. The corn was immediately ground, perhaps with querns, and having been mixed with "dewy" water, in the uſual manner, was made into twelve loaves, and immediately placed in the hot oven.* Cheeſe and butter ſeem alſo to have been tolerably abundant. An illuminator of the Cambridge MS., given in our cut No. 65, repreſents a man

No. 65. *Anglo-Normans Milking and Churning.*

milking and another churning; he who churns appears, to uſe a vulgar phraſe, to be "taking it at his eaſe." The milking-pail, too, is rather extraordinary in its form.

We have not any diſtinct account of the hours at which our Norman

* "Quod, mola detritum, et aqua rorante perfusum, more usitato, in camino æstuante est depositum." *Reg. Dunelm*, p. 128. He owns they were so small that they hardly deserved the name of loaves. "Vix enim bis seni panes erant numero, qui tamen minores adeo quantitate fuerant quod indignum videretur panum eos censeri vocabulo."

anceſtors

anceſtors took their meals, but they appear to have begun their day early. In the Carlovingian romances, everybody, not excepting the emperor and his court, riſes at daybreak; and in Huon de Bordeaux (p. 270), one of the chief heroes is accuſed of lazineſs, becauſe he was in bed after the cock had crowed. In the romance of Doon de Mayence, the feudal lord of that great city and territory is introduced exhorting his ſon to riſe betimes, for, he ſays, "he who ſleeps too long in the morning, becomes thin and lazy, and loſes his day, if he does not amend himſelf."

Qui trop dort au matin, maigre devient et las,
Et ſa journée en pert, ſ'y n'en amende pas.—Doon de Mayence, p. 76.

In the ſame romance, two of the heroes, Doon and Baudouin, alſo riſe with the ſun, and dreſs and waſh, and then ſay their prayers; after which their attendant, Vaudri, "placed between them two a very large paſty, on a white napkin, and brought them wine, and then ſaid to them in fair words, like a man of ſenſe, 'Sirs, you ſhall eat, if it pleaſe you; for eating early in the morning brings great health, and gives one greater courage and ſpirit; and drink a little of this choice wine, which will make you ſtrong and fierce in fight.' . . . And when Doon ſaw it, he laughed, and began to eat and drink, and they breakfaſted very pleaſantly and peacefully." John of Bromyard, who wrote at a later period, has handed down a ſtory of a man who deſpaired of overcoming the difficulty he found in keeping the faſts, until he ſucceeded in the following manner: at the hour of matins (three o'clock in the morning), when he was accuſtomed to break his faſt, and was greatly tempted to eat, he ſaid to himſelf, "I will faſt until tierce (nine o'clock), for the love of God;" and when tierce came, he ſaid he would faſt unto ſext (the hour of noon), and ſo again he put off eating until none (three o'clock in the afternoon); and ſo he gradually learnt to faſt all day. We may perhaps conclude that, at the time when this ſtory was made, nine o'clock was the ordinary hour of dinner.

This laſt-mentioned meal was certainly ſerved early in the day, and was often followed by recreations in the open air. In the romance of Huon de Bordeaux (p. 252), the Chriſtian chiefs, after their dinner, go to

to amuſe themſelves on the ſea-ſhore. In Doon de Mayence (p. 245), they play at cheſs and dice after dinner; and on another occaſion, in the ſame romance (p. 314), the barons, after their dinner, ſing and dance together; while in Fierabras (p. 185), Charlemagne and his court ride out on horſeback, and ſet up a quintain, at which they juſted all day (*tout le jour*—which would imply that they began early), until veſpers (probably ſeven o'clock), when they returned into the palace to refreſh themſelves, and afterwards to go to bed. Supper was certainly ſerved in the evening, and in theſe romances people are ſpoken of as going to bed immediately after it. On one occaſion, in Doon de Mayence (p. 303), Charlemagne's barons take no ſupper, but, after their beds are prepared, they are ſerved plentifully with fruits and wine. In the ſame romance (p. 16), the guards of a caſtle go out, becauſe it was a warm evening in ſummer, and have their ſupper laid out on a table in the field, where they remain long amuſing themſelves. In Fierabras (p. 68), the barons take a hot bath after dinner.

Of the articles of houſehold furniture during the period of which we are now writing, we cannot give many examples. We have every reaſon to believe that they were anything but numerous. A board laid upon treſſels formed the uſual dining table, and an ordinary bench or form the ſeat. In the French Carlovingian romances, the earlier of which may be conſidered as repreſenting ſociety in the twelfth century, even princes and great barons ſit ordinarily upon benches. Thus, in the romance of Huon de Bordeaux (pp. 33, 36), Charlemagne invites the young chieftain, Huon, who had come to viſit him in his palace, to ſit on the bench and drink his wine; and in the ſame romance (p. 263), when Huon was received in the abbey of St. Maurice, near Bordeaux, he and the abbot ſit together on a bench. Chairs belonged to great people. Our cut No. 66, taken from the Trinity College Pſalter, repreſents

No. 66. A Faldeſtol.

repreſents a chair of ſtate, with its covering of drapery thrown over it. In ſome inſtances the cuſhion appears placed upon the drapery. This ſeat was the *faldeſtol*, a word which has been transformed in modern French to *fauteuil* (tranſlated in Engliſh by elbow-chair). We read in the Chanſon de Roland of the *faldeſtol* which was placed for princes, and of the covering of white "*palie*" (a rich ſtuff) which was ſpread over it. That of Charlemagne was of gold—

Un faldeſtoed i unt fait tut d'or mer :
Là ſiet li reis qui dulce France tient.—Chanſon de Roland, p. 5.

The *faldeſtol* of the Saracen king of Spain was covered with a "palie" of Alexandrian manufacture,—

Un faldeſtoet cut ſuz l'umbre d'un pin,
Envolupet fut d'un palie Alexandrin ;
Là fut li reis ki tute Eſpaigne tint.—Ib. p. 17.

The infidel emir from Egypt, when he arrives in Spain, is ſeated in the midſt of his hoſt, on a *faldeſtol* of ivory.

Sur l'erbe verte getent un palie blanc,
Un faldeſtoed i unt mis d'olifan ;
Deſuz ſ'aſiet li paien Baligant.—Ib. p. 102.

The *faldeſtol* was not always made of ſuch rich materials. In the romance of Huon de Bordeaux, Charlemagne is repreſented as ſitting in a *faldeſtol* made of elm.

Karles monta ens el palais plenier ;
Il eſt aſis u faudeſtuef d'ormier.
Huon de Bordeaux, p. 286.

No. 67. Two Chiefs Seated.

The mouldings of the *faldeſtol* in the cut No. 66 will be recogniſed as exactly the ſame which are found on old furniture of a much more recent period, and which, in fact, are thoſe which offer themſelves moſt readily to ordinary turners. The ſame ornament is ſeen on the chair repreſented in our cut No. 67, taken from

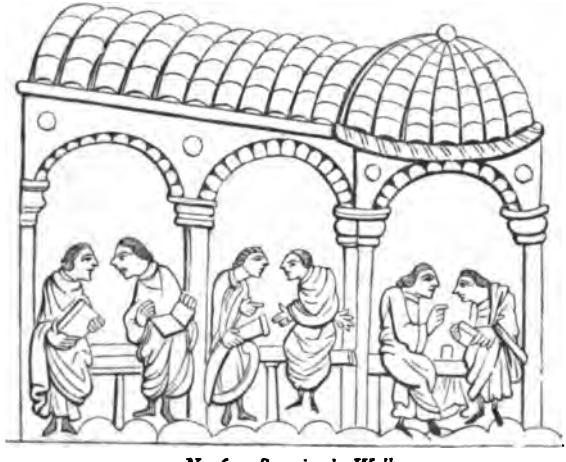
from the ſame manuſcript as the laſt, in which two men are ſeated, in a very ſingular manner. It was not uncommon, however, to have ſeats which held ſeveral perſons together, ſuch as the one repreſented in an Anglo-Saxon illumination given in a former chapter (p. 31), and ſuch as are ſtill to be ſeen in country public-houſes, where they have preſerved the Anglo-Saxon name of *ſettle*. One of theſe is repreſented in our cut No. 68. The perſons ſeated in it, in this caſe, are learned men, and the croſs above ſeems to ſhow that they are monks. One has a table-book, and two of the others have rolls of parchment, which are all evidently the ſubject of anxious diſcuſſion.

Chairs, and even ſtools, were, as has been already obſerved, by no means abundant in theſe early times, and we can eaſily ſuppoſe that it

No. 68. *An Anglo-Norman Settle.*

would be a difficult thing to accommodate numerous viſitors with ſeats. To remedy this, when houſes were built of ſtone, it was uſual to make, in the public apartments, ſeats, like benches, in receſſes in the wall, or projecting from it, which would accommodate a number of perſons at the ſame time. We find ſuch ſeats uſually in the cloiſters of monaſteries, as well as in the chapter-houſes of our cathedral churches. In the latter they generally run round the room, and are divided by arches into ſeats which were evidently intended to accommodate two perſons each, for the convenience

convenience of converſation. This practice is illuſtrated by our cut No. 69, taken, like the preceding one, from the Cambridge Manuſcript;



No. 69. *Seats in the Wall.*

it repreſents a group of ſeats of this kind, in which monks (apparently) are ſeated and converſing two and two.

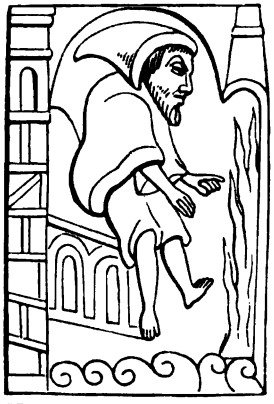
CHAPTER VI.

THE NORMAN HALL.—SOCIAL SENTIMENTS UNDER THE ANGLO-NORMANS.—DOMESTIC AMUSEMENTS.—CANDLES AND LANTERNS.—FURNITURE.—BEDS.—OUT-OF-DOOR RECREATIONS.—HUNTING.—ARCHERY.—CONVIVIAL INTERCOURSE AND HOSPITALITY.—TRAVELLING.—PUNISHMENTS.—THE STOCKS.—A NORMAN SCHOOL.—EDUCATION.

ALEXANDER NECKAM has left us a ſufficiently clear deſcription of the Norman hall. He ſays that it had a veſtibule or ſcreen (*veſtibulum*), and was entered through a porch (*porticus*), and that it had a court, the Latin name of which (*atrium*) he pretends was derived from *ater* (black), "becauſe the kitchens uſed to be placed by the ſide of the ſtreets, in order that the paſſers-by might perceive the ſmell of cooking." This explanation is ſo myſterious, that we may ſuppoſe the paſſage to be corrupt, but the *coquinæ* of which Neckam is ſpeaking are evidently cook's ſhops. In the interior of the hall, he ſays, there were poſts (or columns) placed at regular diſtances. The few examples of Norman halls which remain are divided internally by two rows of columns. Neckam enumerates the materials required in the conſtruction of the hall, which ſeem to ſhow that he is ſpeaking of a timber building. A fine example of a timber hall, though of a later period, is, or was recently, ſtanding in the city of Glouceſter, with its internal "poſts" as here deſcribed. There appears alſo to have been an inner court-yard, in which Neckam intimates that poultry were kept. The whole building, and the two court-yards, were no doubt ſurrounded by a wall, outſide of which were the garden and orchard. The Normans appear to have had a taſte for gardens, which formed a very important adjunct to the manſion, and to the caſtle, and are not unfrequently alluded to in mediæval writers, even as far back as the twelfth century. Giraldus Cambrenſis, ſpeaking of

of the caſtle of Manorbeer (his birthplace), near Pembroke, ſaid that it had under its walls, beſides a fine fiſh-pond, "a beautiful garden, incloſed on one ſide by a vineyard, and on the other by a wood, remarkable for the projection of its rocks, and the height of its hazel-trees." In the twelfth century, vineyards were not uncommon in England.

A new characteriſtic was introduced into the Norman houſes, and eſpecially into the caſtles, the maſſive walls of which allowed chimney-flues to be carried up in their thickneſs. The piled-up fire in the middle of the hall was ſtill retained, but in the more private apartments, and even ſometimes in the hall itſelf, the fire was made on a hearth beneath a fire-place built againſt the ſide wall of the room. An illumination, in the Cottonian MS. Nero, C. iv., which we have already had occaſion to refer to more than once, repreſents a man warming himſelf at a fireplace of this deſcription. It appears, from a compariſon of this (No. 70) with ſimilar figures of a later period, that it was a uſual practice to ſit at the fire bare-legged and bare-foot, with the object of imbibing the heat without the intermediation of ſhoes or ſtockings. On a carved ſtall in Worceſter Cathedral, repreſented in our cut No. 71, which belongs to a later date (the latter part of the fourteenth century), and the ſcene of which is evidently intimated to be in the winter ſeaſon, a man, while occupied in attending to the culinary operations, has taken off his ſhoes in order to warm himſelf in this manner. The winter proviſions, two flitches of bacon, are ſuſpended to the left of him, and on the other ſide the faithful dog ſeems to enjoy the fire equally with his maſter. From a ſtory related by Reginald of Durham, it appears to have been a practice among the ladies to warm themſelves by ſitting over hot water, as well as by the fire.* In ſome of the illuminations of mediæval manuſcripts,



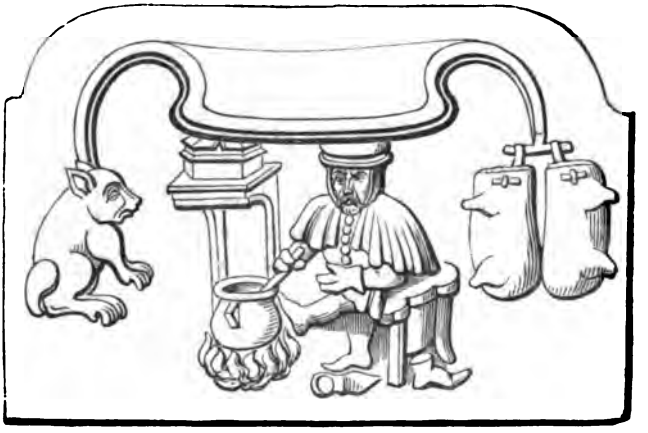
No. 70. A Man warming himſelf.

* Quod si super aquas seu ad ignem se calefactura sedisset.—Reg. Dunelm., c. 124.

ladies

ladies are repreſented as warming themſelves, even in the preſence of the other ſex, in a very free and eaſy manner. The fuel chiefly employed was no doubt ſtill wood, but the remark of Giraldus Cambrenſis that the name of Coleſhulle (in Flintſhire) ſignified the hill of coals (*carbonum collis*) implies that mineral coals were then known.

It is hardly neceſſary to remark that, in the change in the mode of living which had ſuddenly taken place in this country, a form of ſociety had alſo been introduced abruptly which differed entirely from that of the Anglo-Saxons. On the continent, throughout the now disjointed empire which had once been ruled by Charlemagne, there had ariſen, during the



No. 71. *Indications of Cold Weather.*

tenth century, amid frightful miſgovernment and the ſavage invaſions of the northmen, a new form of ſociety, which received the name of feudaliſm, becauſe each landholder held, either direct from the crown or from a ſuperior baron, by a feudal tenure, or fee (*feodum, feudum*), which obliged him to military ſervice. Each baron had ſovereignty over all thoſe who held under him, and, in turn, acknowledged the nominal ſovereignty of a ſuperior baron or of the crown, which the latter practically was only ſometimes able to enforce. One great principle of this ſyſtem was the right of private warfare; and, as not only did the great barons obtain land in feudal tenure

tenure in different countries under different independent princes, but the leſſer holders of ſub-fees obtained ſuch tenures under more than one ſuperior lord, and as theſe, when they quarrelled with one ſuperior, made war upon him, and threw themſelves upon the protection of another who felt bound to defend his feudatory, war became the normal ſtate of feudal ſociety, and peace and tranquillity were the exceptions. One effect of feudaliſm was to divide the population of the country into two diſtinct claſſes—the landholders, or fighting-men, who alone were free, and the agricultural population, who had no political rights whatever, and were little better than ſlaves attached to the land. The towns alone, by their own innate force, preſerved their independence, but in France the influence of feudaliſm extended even over them, and the combined hoſtility of the crown and the ariſtocracy finally overthrew their municipal independence. Feudaliſm was brought into England by the Normans, but it was never eſtabliſhed here ſo completely or ſo fully as on the continent. The towns here never loſt their independence, but they ſided ſometimes with the ariſtocracy, and ſometimes with the crown, until finally they aſſiſted greatly in the overthrow of feudaliſm itſelf. Yet the whole territory of England was now diſtributed in great fees, and in ſub-fees; amid which a few of the old Saxon gentry retained their poſition, and many of the Norman intruders married the Saxon heireſſes, in order, as they thought, to ſtrengthen the right of conqueſt; but the maſs of the agricultural population were confounded under the one comprehenſive name of *villains* (*villani*), and reduced to a much more wretched condition than under the Anglo-Saxon conſtitution. The light in which the villain was regarded in the twelfth century in England is well illuſtrated in a ſtory told in the Engliſh "Rule of Nuns," printed by the Camden Society. A knight, who had cruelly plundered his poor villains, was complimented by one of his flatterers, who ſaid, "Ah, ſir! truly thou doſt well. For men ought always to pluck and pillage the churl, who is like the willow—it ſprouteth out the better for being often cropped."

The power and wealth of the great Norman baron were immenſe, and before him, during a great part of the period of which we are now ſpeaking,

ſpeaking, the law of the land was a mere nominal inſtitution. He was in general proud, very tyrannical, and often barbarouſly cruel. A type of the feudal baron in his worſt point of view is preſented to us in the character of the celebrated Robert de Beleſme, who ſucceeded his father Roger de Montgomery in the earldom of Shropſhire, and of whom Henry of Huntingdon, who lived in his time, tells us, "He was a very Pluto, Megæra, Cerberus, or anything that you can conceive ſtill more horrible. He preferred the ſlaughter of his captives to their ranſom. He tore out the eyes of his own children, when in ſport they hid their faces under his cloak. He impaled perſons of both ſexes on ſtakes. To butcher men in the moſt horrible manner was to him an agreeable feaſt." Of a contemporary feudal chieftain in France, the ſame writer tells us, "When any one, by fraud or force, fell into his hands, the captive might truly ſay, 'The pains of hell compaſſed me round.' Homicide was his paſſion and his glory. He impriſoned his own counteſs, an unheard-of outrage; and, cruel and lewd at once, while he ſubjected her to fetters and torture by day, to extort money, he forced her to cohabit with him by night, in order to mock her. Each night his brutal followers dragged her from her priſon to his bed, each morning they carried her from his chamber back to her priſon. Amicably addreſſing any one who approached him, he would plunge a ſword into his ſide, laughing the while; and for this purpoſe he carried his ſword naked under his cloak more frequently than ſheathed. Men feared him, bowed down to him, and worſhipped him." Women of rank are met with in the hiſtories of this period who equalled theſe barons in violence and cruelty; and the relations between the ſexes were marked by little delicacy or courteſy. William the Conqueror beat his wife even before they were married. The ariſtocratic claſs in general lived a life of idleneſs, which would have been inſupportable without ſome ſcenes of extraordinary excitement, and they not only indulged eagerly in hunting, but they continually ſallied forth in parties to plunder. They looked upon the mercantile claſs eſpecially as objects of hoſtility; and, as they could ſeldom overcome them in their towns, they waylaid them on the public roads, deprived them of their goods and money, and carried them to their caſtles, where they tortured

tortured them in order to force them to pay heavy ranſoms. The young nobles ſometimes joined together to plunder a fair or market. On the other hand, men who could not claim the protection of ariſtocratic blood for their evil deeds, eſtabliſhed themſelves under that of the wild foreſts, and iſſued forth no leſs eagerly to plunder the country, and to perpetrate every deſcription of outrage on the perſons of its inhabitants, of whatever claſs they might be, who fell into their power. The purity of womanhood was no longer prized, where it was liable to be outraged with impunity; and immorality ſpread widely through all claſſes and ranks of ſociety. The declamations of the eccleſiaſtics and the ſatires of the moraliſts of the twelfth century may give highly-painted pictures, but they lead us to the concluſion that the manners and ſentiments of the female ſex during the Norman period were very corrupt.

Nevertheleſs, feudaliſm did boaſt of certain dignified and generous principles, and there were noble examples of both ſexes, who ſhine forth more brightly through the general prevalence of vice and of ſelfiſhneſs and injuſtice. It was in the walls of the feudal caſtle, amid the familiar intercourſe which the want of amuſement cauſed among its inmates, that the principle, or practice, aroſe, which we in modern times call gallantry, and which, though at firſt it only led to refinement in the forms of ſocial manners, ended in producing refinement of ſentiments. It was among the feudal ariſtocracy, too, that originated the ſentiment we term chivalry, which has varied conſiderably in its meaning at different periods, and which, in its beſt ſenſe, exiſted more in romance than in reality. After the poſſeſſion of perſonal ſtrength and courage, the quality which the feudal baron admired moſt, was what was termed generoſity, but which meant laviſh expenditure and extravagance; it was the contraſt between the baron, who ſpent his money, and the burgher or merchant, who gained it, and laid it up in his coffers. "Noblemen and gentlemen," ſays the "Rule of Nuns," already quoted, "do not carry packs, nor go about truſſed with bundles, nor with purſes; it belongs to beggars to bear bag on back, and to burgeſſes to bear purſes." In fact, it was the principle of the feudal ariſtocracy to extort their gains from all who laboured and trafficked, in order to ſquander them on thoſe who lived in idleneſs, violence, and vice.

vice. Under ſuch circumſtances, a new claſs had ariſen which was peculiar to feudal ſociety, who lived entirely upon the extravagance of the ariſtocracy, and who had ſo completely abandoned every ſentiment of morality or ſhame, that, in return for the protection of the nobles, they were the ready inſtruments of any baſe work. They were called, among various other names, *ribalds* (*ribaldi*) and *letchers* (*leccatores*); the origin of the firſt of theſe words is not known, but the latter is equivalent to diſh-lickers, and did not convey the ſenſe now given to the word, but was applied to them on account of their gluttony. We have already ſeen how, in the crowd which attended the feaſts of the princes and nobles, the letchers (*lecheurs*) were not content with waiting for what was ſent away from table, but ſeized upon the diſhes as they were carried from the kitchen to the hall, and how it was found neceſſary to make a new office, that of uſhers of the hall, to repreſs the diſorder. "In thoſe great courts," ſays the author of the "Rule of Nuns," "they are called letchers who have ſo loſt ſhame, that they are aſhamed of nothing, but ſeek how they may work the greateſt villany." This claſs ſpread through ſociety like a great ſore, and from the terms uſed in ſpeaking of them we derive a great part of the opprobrious words which ſtill exiſt in the Engliſh language.

The early metrical romances of the Carlovingian cycle give us an inſight into what were conſidered as the praiſeworthy features in the character of the feudal knight. In Doon of Mayence, for example, when (p. 74) the aged count Guy ſends his young ſon Doon into the world, he counſels him thus: "You ſhall always aſk queſtions of good men, and you ſhall never put your truſt in a ſtranger. Every day, fair ſon, you ſhall hear the holy maſs, and give to the poor whenever you have money, for God will repay you double. Be liberal in gifts to all; for the more you give, the more honour you will acquire, and the richer you will be; for a gentleman who is too ſparing will loſe all in the end, and die in wretchedneſs and diſgrace; but give without promiſing wherever you can. Salute all people when you meet them, and if you owe anything, pay it willingly, but if you cannot pay, aſk for a reſpite. When you come to the hoſtelry, don't ſtand ſquabbling, but enter glad and joyouſly. When you enter the houſe, cough very loud, for there may be ſomething doing

doing which you ought not to ſee, and it will coſt you nothing to give this notice of your approach, while thoſe who happen to be there will love you the better for it. Do not quarrel with your neighbour, and avoid diſputing with him before other people; for if he know anything againſt you, he will let it out, and you will have the ſhame of it. When you are at court, play at tables, and if you have any good points of behaviour (*depors*), ſhow them; you will be the more prized, and gain the more advantage. Never make a noiſe or joke in church; this is only done by unbelievers, whom God loves not. Honour all the clergy, and ſpeak fairly to them, but leave them as little of your goods as you can; the more they get from you, the more you will be laughed at; you will never profit by enriching them. And if you wiſh to ſave your honour undiminiſhed, meddle with nothing you do not underſtand, and don't pretend to be a proficient in what you have never learnt. And if you have a valet, take care not to ſeat him at the table by you, or take him to bed with you; for the more honour you do to a low fellow, the more will he deſpiſe you. If you ſhould know anything that you would wiſh to conceal, tell it by no means to your wife, if you have one; for if you let her know it, you will repent of it the firſt time you diſpleaſe her." The eſtimate of the female character at this period, even when given in the romances of chivalry, is by no means flattering.

With theſe counſels of a father, we may compare thoſe of a mother to her ſon. In the romance of Huon de Bordeaux (p. 18), when the youthful hero leaves his home to repair to the court of Charlemagne, the ducheſs addreſſes her ſon as follows: "My child," ſhe ſaid, "you are going to be a courtier; I require you, for God's love, have nothing to do with a treacherous flatterer; make the acquaintance of wiſe men. Attend regularly at the ſervice of holy church, and ſhow honour and love to the clergy. Give your goods willingly to the poor; be courteous, and ſpend freely, and you will be the more loved and cheriſhed." On the whole, higher ſentiments are placed in the mouth of the lady than in that of the baron. We muſt, however, return to the outward, and therefore more apparent, characteriſtics of ſocial life during the Norman period.

The in-door amuſements of the ordinary claſſes of ſociety appear not to have undergone much change during the earlier Norman period, but the higher claſſes lived more ſplendidly and more riotouſly; and, as far as we can judge, they ſeem to have been coarſer in manners and feelings. The writer of the life of Hereward has left us a curious picture of Norman revelry. When the Saxon hero returned to Brunne, to the home of his fathers, and found that it had been taken poſſeſſion of by a Norman intruder, he ſecretly took his lodging in the cottage of a villager cloſe by. In the night he was rouſed from his pillow by loud ſounds of minſtrelſy, accompanied with boiſterous indications of merriment, which iſſued from his father's hall, and he was told that the new occupants were at their evening cups. He proceeded to the hall, and entered the doorſtead unobſerved, from whence he obtained a view of the interior of the hall. The new lord of Brunne was ſurrounded by his knights, who were ſcattered about helpleſs from the extent of their potations, and reclining in the laps of their women. In the midſt of them ſtood a jougleur, or minſtrel, alternately ſinging and exciting their mirth with coarſe and brutal jeſts. It is a firſt rough ſketch of a part of mediæval manners, which we ſhall find more fully developed at a ſomewhat later period. The brutality of manners exhibited in the ſcene which I have but imperfectly deſcribed, and which is confirmed by the ſtatements of writers of the following century, ſoon degenerated into heartleſs ferocity, and when we reach the period of the civil wars of Stephen's reign, we find the amuſements of the hall varied with the torture of captive enemies.

In his more private hours of relaxation, the Norman knight amused himſelf with games of ſkill or hazard. Among theſe, the game of cheſs became now very popular, and many of the rudely carved cheſſmen of the twelfth century have been found in our iſland, chiefly in the north, where they appear to have been manufactured. They are uſually made of the tuſk of the walrus, the native ivory of Weſtern Europe, which was known popularly as whale's bone. The whalebone of the middle ages is always deſcribed as white, and it was a common object of compariſon among the early Engliſh poets, who, when they would deſcribe the delicate complexion of a lady, uſually ſaid that ſhe was "white as whale's bone."

bone." Theſe, as well as dice, which were now in common uſe, were alſo made of horn and bone, and the manufacture of ſuch articles ſeems to have been a very extenſive one. Even in the little town of Kirkcudbright, on the Scottiſh border, there was, in the middle of the twelfth century, a maker of combs, draughtſmen, cheſſmen, dice, ſpigots, and other ſuch articles, of bone and horn, and ſtag's horn appears to have been a favourite material.*

In the Chanſon de Roland, Charlemagne and his knights are repreſented, after the capture of Cordova from the Saracens, as ſitting in a ſhady garden, ſome of them playing at tables, and others at cheſs.

Sur palies blancs ſiedent cil cevalers,
As tables juent pur els eſbaneier,
E as eſchecs li plus ſaive e li veill,
E eſcremiſſent cil bacheler leger.

Cheſs, as the higher game, is here deſcribed as the amuſement of the chiefs, the old, and the wiſe; the knights play at tables, or draughts; but the young bachelors are admitted to neither of theſe games, they amuſe themſelves with bodily exerciſes—ſham fights.

Although ſuch games were not unuſually played by day, they were more eſpecially the amuſements which employed the long evenings of winter, and candles appear at this time to have been more generally uſed than at a former period. They ſtill continued to be fixed on candleſticks, and not in them, and ſpikes appear ſometimes to have been attached to tables or other articles of furniture, to hold them. Thus, in one of the pretended miracles told by Reginald of Durham, a ſacriſtan, occupied in committing the ſacred veſtments to the ſafety of a cupboard, fixed his candle on a ſtick or ſpike of wood on one ſide (*candelam...in aſſere collaterali confixit*), and forgetting to take away the candle, locked the cupboard door, and only diſcovered his negligence when he found the whole cupboard in flames. Another eccleſiaſtic, reading in bed, fixed his

* Quidam de villula in confinio poſita, artificiosus minister, sub diurno tempore studiosus advenit, cujus negotiationis opus in pectinibus conformandis, tabulatis et scaccariis, talis, spiniferis, et cæteris talibus, de cornuum vel solidiori ossuum materia procreandis et studium intentionis effulsit.—Reg. Dunelm, c. 88.

candle

candle on the top of one of the ſides (*ſpondilia*) of his bed. Another individual bought two ſmall candles (*candelas modicas*) for an *obolus*, but the value of the coin thus named is not very exactly known. The candle appears to have been uſually placed at night in or on the chimney, or fire-place, with which the chamber was now furniſhed. In Fierabras (p. 93), a thief, having obtained admiſſion in the night to the chamber of the princeſs Floripas, takes a candle from the chimney, and lights it at the fire, from which we are led to ſuppoſe that it was uſual to keep the fire alight all night.

No. 72. A Norman Lantern.

Iſnelement et toſt vient à la ceminée,
Une chandelle a prinſe, au fu l'a alumée.

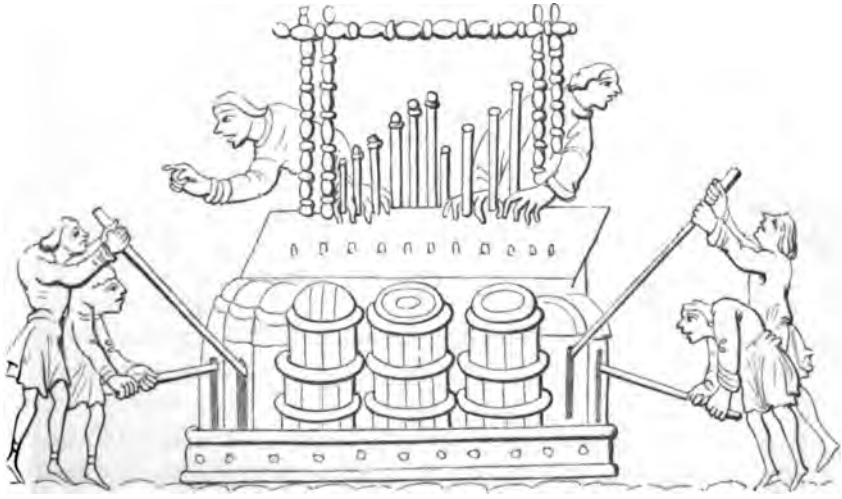
On another occaſion (p. 67), a fire is lit in the chimney of Floripas's chamber, and afterwards a table is laid there, and dinner ſerved. Lanterns were now alſo in general uſe. The earlieſt figure of a lantern that I remember to have met with in an Engliſh manuſcript is one furniſhed by MS. Cotton. Nero, C. iv., which

No. 73. Occupations of the Ladies.

is repreſented in our cut (No. 72). It differs but little from the ſame article as uſed in modern times; the ſides are probably of horn, with a ſmall door through which to put the candle, and the domed cover is pierced with holes for the egreſs of the ſmoke.

We

We begin now to be a little better acquainted with the domeſtic occupations of the ladies, but we ſhall be able to treat more fully of theſe in a ſubſequent chapter. Not the leaſt uſual of theſe was weaving, an art which appears to have been practiſed very extenſively by the female portion of the larger houſeholds. The manuſcript Pſalter in Trinity College, Cambridge, furniſhes us with the very curious group of female weavers given in our cut No. 73. It explains itſelf, as much, at leaſt, as it can eaſily be explained, and I will only obſerve that the ſciſſors here employed are of the form common to the Romans, to the Saxons, and to the earlier Normans; they are the Saxon *ſcear*, and this name, as well as the form, is ſtill preſerved in that of the "ſhears" of the modern clothiers. Muſic was alſo a favourite occupation, and the number



No. 74. A Norman Organ.

of muſical inſtruments appears to be conſiderably increaſed. Some of theſe ſeem to have been elaborately conſtructed. The manuſcript laſt mentioned furniſhes us with the accompanying figure of a large organ, of laborious though rather clumſy workmanſhip.

In the dwellings of the nobles and gentry, there was more ſhow of furniture

niture under the Normans than under the Saxons. Cupboards (*armaria, armoires*) were more numerous, and were filled with veſſels of earthenware, wood, or metal, as well as with other things. Cheſts and coffers were adorned with elaborate carving, and were ſometimes inlaid with metal, and even with enamel. The ſmaller ones were made of ivory, or bone, carved with hiſtorical ſubjects. Rich ornamentation generally began with eccleſiaſtics, and we find by the ſubjects carved upon them that the earlier ivory coffers or caſkets belonged to churchmen. When they were made for lords and ladies, they were uſually ornamented with ſubjects from romance, or from the current literature of the day. The

No. 75. A Norman Bed.

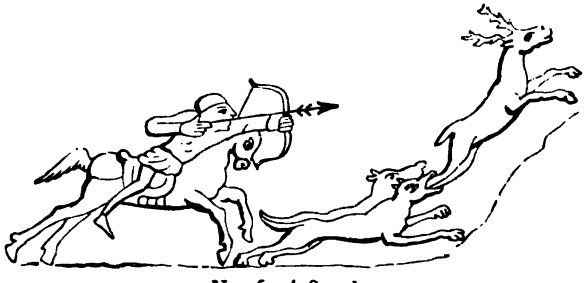
beds, alſo, were more ornamental, and aſſumed novel forms. Our cut No. 75, taken from MS. Cotton. Nero, C. iv., differs little from ſome of the Anglo-Saxon figures of beds. But the teſter bed, or bed with a roof at the head, and hangings, was now introduced. In Reginald of Durham, we are told of a ſacriſtan who was accuſtomed to ſit in his bed and read at night. One night, having fixed his candle upon one of the ſides of the bed (*ſupra ſpondilia lectuli ſuprema*), he fell accidentally aſleep. The fire communicated itſelf from the candle to the bed, which, being filled with ſtraw, was ſoon enveloped in flame, and this communicated

cated itſelf with no leſs rapidity to the combination of arches and planks of which the frame of the bed was compoſed (*ligna materies archarum et aſſerum copioſa*). Above the bed was a wooden frame (*quædam tabularia ſtratura*), on which he was accuſtomed to pile the curtains, dorſals, and other ſimilar furniture of the church. Neckam, in the latter part of the twelfth century, deſcribes the chamber as having its walls covered with a curtain, or tapeſtry. Beſides the bed, he ſays, there ſhould be a chair, and at the foot of the bed a bench. On the bed was placed a quilt (*culcitra*) of feathers (*plumalis*), to which is joined a pillow; and this is covered with a pointed (*punctata*) or ſtriped (*ſtragulata*) quilt, and a cuſhion is placed upon this, on which to lay the head. Then came ſheets (*lintheamina, linceuls*), made ſometimes of rich ſilks, but more commonly of linen, and theſe were covered with a coverlet made of green ſay, or of cloth made of the hair of the badger, cat, beaver, or ſable. On one ſide of the chamber was a *perche*, or pole, projecting from the wall, for the falcons, and in another place a ſimilar perch for hanging articles of dreſs. It was not unuſual to have only one chamber in the houſe, in which there were, or could be made, ſeveral beds, ſo that all the company, even if of different ſexes, ſlept in the ſame room. Servants and perſons of lower degree might ſleep unceremoniouſly in the hall. In the romance of Huon de Bordeaux (p. 270), Huon, his wife, and his brother, when lodged in a great abbey, ſleep in three different beds in the ſame room, no doubt in the gueſt-houſe. Among the Anglo-Normans, the chamber ſeems to have frequently, if not generally, occupied an upper floor, ſo that it was approached by ſtairs.

The out-of-doors amuſements of this period appear in general to have been rude and boiſterous. The girls and women ſeem to have been paſſionately fond of the dance, which was their common amuſement at all public feſtivals. The young men applied themſelves to gymnaſtic exerciſes, ſuch as wreſtling, and running, and boxing; and they had bull-baitings, and ſometimes bear-baitings. On Roman ſites, the ancient amphitheatres ſeem ſtill to have been uſed for ſuch exhibitions; and the Roman amphitheatre at Banbury, in Oxfordſhire, was known by the title of "The Bull-ring" down to a very late period. The higher ranks among

among the Normans were extraordinarily addicted to the chace, to ſecure which they adopted ſevere meaſures for preſerving the woods and the beaſts which inhabited them. Every reader of Engliſh hiſtory knows the ſtory of the New Foreſt, and of the fate which there befell the great patron of hunting—William Rufus. The Saxon Chronicle, in ſumming up the character of William the Conqueror, tells us that he "made large foreſts for the deer, and enacted laws therewith, ſo that whoever killed a hart or a hind, ſhould be blinded. As he forbade killing the deer, ſo alſo the boars; and he loved the tall ſtags as if he were their father. He alſo appointed concerning the hares, that they ſhould go free." The paſſion of the ariſtocracy for hunting was a bane to the rural population in more ways than one. Not only did they ride over the cultivated lands, and deſtroy the crops, but wherever they came they lived at free quarter on the unfortunate population, ill-treating the men, and even outraging the females, at will. John of Saliſbury complains bitterly of the cruelty with which the country-people were treated, if they happened to be ſhort of proviſions when the hunters came to their houſes. "If one of theſe hunters come acroſs your land," he ſays, "immediately and humbly lay before him everything you have in your houſe, and go and buy of your neighbours whatever you are deficient of, or you may be plundered and thrown into priſon for your diſreſpect to your betters." The weapons generally uſed in hunting the ſtag were bows and arrows. It was a barbed arrow which pierced the breaſt of the ſecond William, when he was hunting the ſtag in the wilds of the New Foreſt. Our cut (No. 76), from the Trinity College Pſalter, repreſents a horſeman hunting the ſtag. The noble animal is cloſely followed by a brace of hounds, and juſt as he is turning up a hill, the huntſman aims an arrow at him. As far as we can gather from the few authorities in which it is alluded to, the Saxon peaſantry were not unpractiſed hands at the bow. We find them enjoying the character of good archers very ſoon after the Norman conqueſt, under circumſtances which ſeem to preclude the notion that they derived their knowledge of this arm from the invaders. In the miracles of St. Bega, printed by Mr. G. C. Tomlinſon, in 1842, there is a ſtory which ſhows the ſkill of the young men of Cumberland in archery

archery very ſoon after the entrance of the Normans; and the original writer, who lived perhaps not much after the middle of the twelfth century, aſſures us that the Hibernian Scots, and the men of Galloway, who were the uſual enemies of the men of Cumberland, "feared theſe ſort of arms more than any others, and called an arrow, proverbially, a *flying devil.*" We learn from this and other accounts, that the arrows of this period were barbed and fledged, or furniſhed with feathers. It may be obſerved, in ſupport of the aſſertion that the uſe of bows and arrows



No. 76. A Stag-hunt.

was derived from the Saxons, that the names *bow* (*boga*) and *arrow* (*arewe*), by which they have always been known, are taken directly from their language; whereas, if the practice of archery had been introduced by the Normans, it is probable we ſhould have called them *arcs* and *fletches.*

After the entrance of the Normans, we begin to find more frequent alluſions to the convivial meetings of the middle and lower orders in ordinary inns or private houſes. Thus, we have a ſtory in Reginald of Durham, of a party of the pariſhioners of Kellow, who went to a drinking party at the prieſt's, and paſſed in this manner a great portion of the night.* This occurred in the time of biſhop Geoffrey Rufus, between 1133 and 1140. A youth and his monaſtic teacher are repreſented on another occaſion as going to a tavern, and paſſing the whole of the night

* Quidam Walterus . . . . qui ad domum sacerdotis villulæ prædictæ cum hospitibus potaturus accessit. Cum igitur noctis spacium effluxisset, &c.—Reg. Dunelm, c. 17.

in drinking, till one of them becomes inebriated, and cannot be prevailed on to return home. Another of Reginald's ſtories deſcribes a party in a private houſe, ſitting and drinking round the fire. We are obliged thus to collect together ſlight and often trivial alluſions to the manners of a period during which we have ſo few detailed deſcriptions. Hoſpitality was at this time exerciſed among all claſſes freely and liberally; the miſery of the age made people meet together with more kindlineſs. The monaſteries had their open gueſt-houſes, and the unknown traveller was ſeldom refuſed a place at the table of the yeoman. In towns, moſt of the burgeſſes or citizens were in the habit of receiving ſtrangers as private lodgers, in addition to the accommodation afforded in the regular *hoſpitia* or taverns. Travelling, indeed, was more uſual under the Normans than it had been under the Saxons, for it was facilitated by the more extenſive uſe of horſes. But this alſo brought ſerious evils upon the country; for troops of followers and rude retainers who attended on the proud and tyrannical ariſtocracy, were in the habit of taking up their lodgings at will and diſcretion, and living upon the unfortunate houſeholders without pay. It had been, even during the Anglo-Saxon period, a matter of pride and oſtentation among men of rank—eſpecially the king's officers—to travel about accompanied with a great multitude of followers,* and this practice certainly did not diminiſh under the Normans. But, whether in great numbers or in ſmall, the travellers of the twelfth century ſought the means of amuſing themſelves during their journey, and theſe amuſements reſembled ſome of thoſe which were employed at the dinner-table—they told ſtories, or repeated epiſodes from romances, or ſung, and they ſometimes had minſtrels to accompany them. In the romance of Huon de Bordeaux, Huon, on his journey from his native city to Paris, aſks his brother Gerard to ſing, to enliven them on the road,—

Cante, biau frere, pour nos cors esjoir.—Huon de Bordeaux, p. 18.

* Lantfridus, in his collection of the miracles of St. Swithun, MS. Reg. 15, C. vii., fol. 41, v°., tells us how—"quidam conſul regis, in caducis præpotens rebus, cum ingenti comitatu, ſicut mos eſt Anglo-Saxonum, properater equitabat ad quendam vicum in quo grandis apparatus ad neceſſarios convivandi uſus erat illi opipare conſtructus," &c.

But

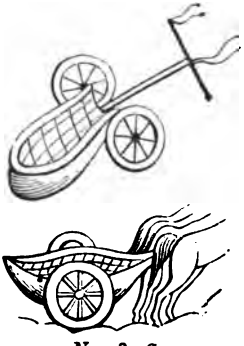
But Gerard declines, becauſe a diſagreeable dream of the preceding night has made his heart ſorrowful. When we turn from romance to ſober hiſtory, we learn from Giraldus Cambrenſis how Gilbert de Clare, journeying from England to his great poſſeſſions in Cardiganſhire, was preceded by a minſtrel and a ſinging-man, who played and ſang alternately, and how the noiſe they made gave notice of his approach to the Welſhmen who lay in ambuſh to kill him.

A group of Norman travellers is here given from the Cottonian MS. Nero, C. iv. It is intended to repreſent Joſeph and the Virgin Mary travelling into Egypt. The Virgin on the aſs, or mule, is another example

No. 77. Norman Travellers.

of the continued practice among ladies of riding ſideways. Mules appear to have been the animals on which ladies uſually rode at this period. In the romance of Huon de Bordeaux (p. 60), when Huon, immediately after his marriage, proceeds on his journey homeward, he mounts his young ducheſs on a mule; ſo alſo, in the romance of Gaufrey (p. 62), the princeſs Flordeſpine is mounted on "a rich mule," the trappings of which are rather minutely deſcribed. "The ſaddle was of ivory, inſet with gold; on the bridle there was a gem of ſuch power that it gave light in the darkneſs of night, and whoever bore it was preſerved from all diſeaſe; the

the ſaddle-cloth (*ſambue*) was wonderfully made; ſhe had thirty little bells behind the *cuirie*, which, when the mule ambled, made ſo great a melody that harp or viol were worth nothing in compariſon." The Anglo-Norman hiſtorian, Ordericus Vitalis, has preſerved a legend of a viſion of purgatory, in which the prieſt who is ſuppoſed to have ſeen it deſcribes, among other ſuffering perſons, "a crowd of women who ſeemed to him to be innumerable. They were mounted on horſeback, riding in female faſhion, with women's ſaddles. . . . . In this company the prieſt recogniſed ſeveral noble ladies, and beheld the palfreys and mules, with the women's litters, of others who were ſtill alive." The Trinity College Pſalter furniſhes us with the two figures of cars given in our cut No. 78; but they are ſo fanciful in ſhape, that we can hardly help concluding they muſt have been mere rude and groteſque attempts at imitating claſſical forms.



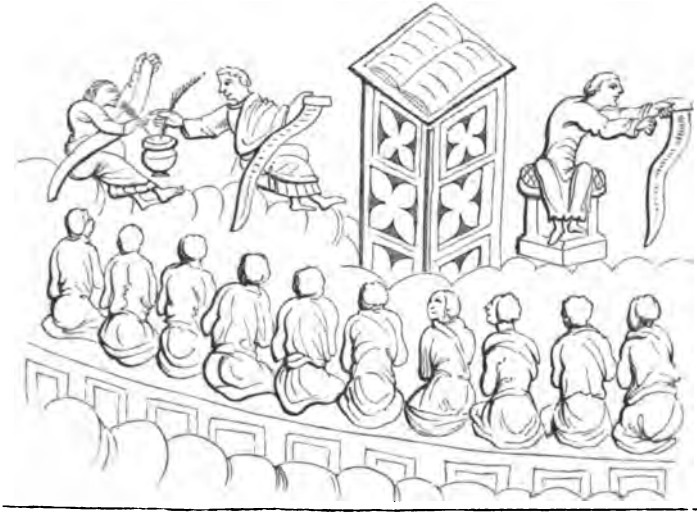
No. 78. Cars.

The manuſcript laſt mentioned affords us two other curious illuſtrations of the manners of the earlier half of the twelfth century. The firſt of

No. 79. The Stocks.

theſe (No. 79) repreſents two men in the ſtocks, one held by one leg only, the other by both. The men to the left are hooting and inſulting them. The ſecond, repreſented in our cut No. 80, is the interior of a Norman ſchool. We give only a portion of the original, where the bench, on which the ſcholars are ſeated, forms a complete circle. The two writers, the

the teacher, who ſeems to be lecturing *viva voce*, and his ſeat and deſk, are all worthy of notice. We have very little information on the forms and methods of teaching in ſchools at this period, but ſchools ſeem to have been numerous in all parts of the country. We have more than one alluſion to them in the *naïve* ſtories of Reginald of Durham. From one of theſe we learn that a ſchool, according to a cuſtom "now common enough," was kept in the church of Norham, on the Tweed, the pariſh prieſt being the teacher. One of the boys, named Aldene, had incurred



No. 80. *A Norman School.*

the danger of correction, to eſcape which he took the key of the church door, which appears to have been in his cuſtody, and threw it into a deep pool in the river Tweed, then called Padduwel, and now Pedwel or Peddle, a place well known as a fiſhing ſtation. He hoped by this means to eſcape further ſcholaſtic diſcipline, from the circumſtance that the ſcholars would be ſhut out by the impoſſibility of opening the church door. Accordingly, when the time of veſpers came, and the prieſt arrived, the key of the door was miſſing, and the boy declared that he did

did not know where it was. The lock was too ſtrong and ponderous to be broken or forced, and, after a vain effort to open the door, the evening was allowed to paſs without divine ſervice. The ſtory goes on to ſay, that in the night St. Cuthbert appeared to the prieſt, and inquired wherefore he had neglected his ſervice. On hearing the explanation, the ſaint ordered him to go next morning to the fiſhing ſtation at Padduwel, and buy the firſt net of fiſh that was drawn out of the river. The prieſt obeyed, and in the net was a ſalmon of extraordinary magnitude, in the throat of which was found the loſt key of Norham church.

Among the ariſtocracy of the land, the education of the boy took what was conſidered at that time a very practical turn—he was inſtructed in behaviour, in manly exerciſes and the uſe of arms, in carving at table—then looked upon as a moſt important accompliſhment among gentlemen—and in ſome other branches of learning which we ſhould hardly appreciate at preſent; but ſchool learning was no mediæval gentleman's accompliſhment, and was, in that light, quite an exception, unleſs perhaps to a certain degree among the ladies. In the hiſtorical romances of the middle ages, a prince or a baron is ſometimes able to read, but it is the reſult of accidental circumſtances. Thus, in the romance of the "Mort de Garin," when the empreſs of the Franks writes ſecret news from Paris to duke Garin, the head of the family of the Loherains, it is remarked, as an unuſual circumſtance, that the latter was able to read, and that he could thus communicate the ſecret information of the empreſs to his friends without the aſſiſtance of a ſcholar or ſecretary, which was a great advantage, as it prevented one ſource of danger of the betrayal of the correſpondence. "Garin the Loherain," ſays the narrator, "was acquainted with letters, for in his infancy he was put to ſchool until he had learned both Roman (French) and Latin."

De letres ſot li Loherens Garins;
Car en f'enfance fu à eſcole mis,
Tant que il ſot et Roman et Latin.—Mort de Garin, p. 105.

Education of this kind was beſtowed more generally on the *bourgeoiſie*—on the middle and even the lower claſſes; and to theſe ſchool-education

education was much more generally acceſſible than we are accuſtomed to imagine. From Anglo-Saxon times, indeed, every pariſh church had been a public ſchool. The Eccleſiaſtical Inſtitutes (p. 475, in the folio edition of the Laws, by Thorpe) directs that "Maſſ-prieſts ought always to have at their houſes a ſchool of diſciples; and if any one deſire to commit his little ones (*lytlingas*) to them for inſtruction, they ought very gladly to receive them, and kindly teach them." It is added that "they ought not, however, for that inſtruction, to deſire anything from their relatives, except what they ſhall be willing to do for them of their own accord." In the Eccleſiaſtical Canons, publiſhed under king Edgar, there is an enactment which would lead us to ſuppoſe that the clergy performed their ſcholaſtic duties with ſome zeal, and that prieſts were in the habit of ſeducing their ſcholars from each other, for this enactment (p. 396) enjoins "that no prieſt receive another's ſcholar without leave of him whom he previouſly followed." This ſyſtem of teaching was kept up during at leaſt ſeveral generations after the Norman conqueſt.

CHAPTER VII.

EARLY ENGLISH HOUSES.—THEIR GENERAL FORM AND DISTRIBUTION.

AFTER the middle of the twelfth century, we begin to be better acquainted with the domeſtic manners of our forefathers, and from that period to the end of the fourteenth century the change was very gradual, and in many reſpects they remained nearly the ſame. In the middle claſſes, eſpecially in the towns, there had been a gradual fuſion of Norman and Saxon manners, while the Norman faſhions and the Norman language prevailed in the higher claſſes, and the manners of the lower claſſes remained, probably, nearly the ſame as before the Conqueſt.

We now obtain a more perfect notion of the houſes of all claſſes, not only from more frequent and exact deſcriptions, but from exiſting remains. The principal part of the building was ſtill the hall, or, according to the Norman word, the *ſalle*, but its old Saxon character ſeems to have been ſo univerſally acknowledged, that the firſt or Saxon name prevailed over the other. The name now uſually given to the whole dwelling-houſe was the Norman word *manoir* or manor, and we find this applied popularly to the houſes of all claſſes, excepting only the cottages of labouring people. In houſes of the twelfth century, the hall, ſtanding on the ground floor, and open to the roof, ſtill formed the principal feature of the building. The chamber generally adjoined to it at one end, and at the other was uſually a ſtable (*croiche*). The whole building ſtood within a ſmall encloſure, conſiſting of a yard or court in front, called in Norman *aire* (area), and a garden, which was ſurrounded uſually with a hedge and ditch. In front, the houſe had uſually one door, which was the main entrance into the hall. From this latter apartment there was a door

door into the chamber at one end, and one into the *croiche* or ſtable at the other end, and a back door into the garden. The chamber had alſo frequently a door which opened alſo into the garden; the ſtable, as a matter of courſe, would have a large door or outlet into the yard. The chief windows were thoſe of the hall. Theſe, in common houſes, appear to have been merely openings, which might be cloſed with wooden ſhutters; and in other parts of the building they were nothing but holes (*pertuis*); there appears to have been uſually one of theſe holes in the partition wall between the chamber and the hall, and another between the hall and the ſtable. There was alſo an outer window, or *pertuis*, to the chamber.

In the popular French and Anglo-Norman *fabliaux*, or tales in verſe, which belong moſtly to the thirteenth century, we meet with many incidents illuſtrating this diſtribution of the apartments of the houſe, which no doubt continued eſſentially the ſame during that and the following century. Thus in a fabliau publiſhed by M. Jubinal, an old woman of mean condition in life, dame Auberée, is deſcribed as viſiting a burgher's wife, who, with characteriſtic vanity, takes her into the chamber adjoining (*en une chambre ilueques près*), to ſhow her her handſome bed. When the lady afterwards takes refuge with dame Auberée, ſhe alſo ſhows her out of the hall into a chamber cloſe adjoining (*en une chambre iluec de joſte*). In a fabliau entitled *Du preſtre crucifié*, publiſhed by Méon, a man returning home at night, ſees what is going on in the hall through a *pertuis*, or hole made through the wall for a window, before he opens the door (*par un pertuis les a veux*). In another fabliau publiſhed in the larger collection of Barbazan, a lady in her chamber ſees what is paſſing in the hall *par un pertuis*. In the fabliau of *Le povre clerc* (or ſcholar), the clerc, having aſked for a night's lodging at the houſe of a miller during the miller's abſence, is driven away by the wife, who expects a viſit from her lover the prieſt, and is unwilling to have an intruder. The clerc, as he is going away, meets the miller, who, angry at the inhoſpitable conduct of his dame, takes him back to the houſe. The prieſt in the meantime had arrived, and is ſitting in the hall with the good wife, who, hearing a knock at the door, makes her lover hide him-

ſelf in the ſtable (*croiche*). From the ſtable the prieſt watches the company in the hall through a window (*feneſtre*), which is evidently only another name for the *pertuis*. In one fabliau the gallant comes through the court or garden, and is let into the hall by the back door; in another a woman is introduced into the chamber by a back door, or, as it is called in the text, a falſe door (*par un fax huis*), while the hall is occupied by company.

The arrangements of an ordinary houſe in the country are illuſtrated in the fabliau *De Barat et de Haimet*, printed in the collection of Barbazan. Two thieves undertake to rob a third of "a bacon," which he (Travers) had hung on the beam or rafter of his houſe, or hall:—

Travers l'avoit à une hart
Au tref de ſa meson pendu.

The thieves make a hole in the wall, by which one enters without waking Travers or his wife, although they were ſleeping with the door of their chamber open. The bacon is thus ſtolen and carried away. Travers, rouſed by the noiſe of their departure, riſes from his bed, follows the thieves, and ultimately recaptures his bacon. He reſolves now to cook the bacon, and eat ſome of it, and for this purpoſe a fire is made, and a cauldron full of water hung over it. This appears to be performed in the middle of the hall. The thieves return, and, approaching the door, one of them looked through the *pertuis*, and ſaw the bacon boiling:—

Baras miſt ſon ocil au pertuis,
Et voit que la chaudiere bout.

The thieves then climb the roof, uncover a ſmall ſpace at the top ſilently, and attempt to draw up the bacon with a hook.

From the unſkilfulneſs of the mediæval artiſts in repreſenting details where any knowledge of perſpective was required, we have not ſo much information as might be expected from the illuminated manuſcripts relating to the arrangements of houſes. But a fine illuminated copy of the romances of the San Graal and the Round Table, executed at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and now preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum

Muſeum (MS. Addit. Nos. 10,292—10,294), furniſhes us with one or two rather intereſting illuſtrations of this ſubject. The romances themſelves were compoſed in Anglo-Norman, in the latter half of the twelfth century. The firſt cut which we ſhall ſelect from this manuſcript is a

No. 81. *An Anglo-Norman Houſe*

complete view of a houſe; it belongs to a chapter entitled *Enſi que Lancelot ront les fers d'une feneſtre, et ſi entre dedens pour geſir avoec la royne.* The queen has informed Lancelot that the head of her bed lies near the window of her chamber, and that he may come by night to the window, which is defended by an iron grating, to talk with her, and ſhe tells him that the wall of the adjacent hall is in one part weak and dilapidated enough to allow of his obtaining an entrance through it; but Lancelot prefers breaking open the grating in order to enter directly into the chamber, to paſſing through the hall. The grating of the chamber window appears to have been common in the houſes of the rich and noble; in the records of the thirteenth century, the grating of the chamber windows of the queen is often mentioned. The window behind Lancelot in our cut is that of the hall, and is diſtinguiſhed by architectural ornamentation. The ornamental hinges of the door, with the lock and the knocker, are alſo curious. Our next cut (No. 82), taken from this ſame manuſcript,

manuſcript, repreſents part of the houſe of a knight, whoſe wife has an intrigue with one of the heroes of theſe romances, king Claudas. The knight lay in wait to take the king, as he was in the lady's chamber at night, but the king, being made aware of his danger, eſcaped by the chamber-window, while the knight expected to catch him by entering at the hall door. The juxtapoſition of hall and chamber is here ſhown very plainly. In another chapter of the ſame romances, the king takes Lancelot into a chamber to talk with him apart, while his knights wait for them in the hall; this is pictorially repreſented in an illumination copied in the accompanying cut (No. 83), which ſhows exactly the relative poſition of the hall and chamber. The door here is probably intended for that which led from the hall into the chamber.

No. 82. *The Hall and Chamber.*

No. 83. *The Knights in waiting.*

We ſee from continual alluſions that an ordinary houſe, even among men of wealth, had uſually only one chamber, which ſerved as his ſleeping-room, and as the ſpecial apartment of the female portion of the houſehold

houſehold—the lady and her maids, while the hall was employed indiſcriminately for cooking, eating and drinking, receiving viſitors, and a variety of other purpoſes, and at night it was uſed as a common ſleeping-room. Theſe arrangements, and the conſtruction of the houſe, varied according to the circumſtances of the locality and the rank of the occupiers. Among the rich, a ſtable did not form part of the houſe, but its ſite was often occupied by the kitchen, which was almoſt always placed cloſe to the hall. Among the higher claſſes other chambers were built, adjacent to the chief chamber, or to the hall, though in larger manſions they ſometimes occupied a tower or ſeparate building adjacent. The form, however, which the manor-houſe generally took was a ſimple oblong ſquare. A ſeal of the thirteenth century, attached to a deed by which, in June, 1272, William Moraunt grants to Peter Picard an acre of land in the pariſh of Otteford in Kent, furniſhes us with a repreſentation of William Moraunt's manor-houſe. It is a ſimple ſquare building, with a high-pitched roof, as appears always to have been the caſe in the early Engliſh houſes, and a chimney. The hall door, it will be obſerved, opens outwardly, as is the caſe in the preceding cuts, which was the ancient Roman manner of opening of the outer door of the houſe; it may be added that it was the cuſtom to leave the hall door or *huis* (*oſtium*) always open by day, as a ſign of hoſpitality. It will alſo be obſerved that there is a curious coincidence in the form of chimney with the cuts from the illuminated manuſcript. We muſt not overlook another circumſtance in theſe delineations,—the poſition of the chimney, which is uſually over the chamber, and not over the hall. Fireplaces in the wall and chimneys were firſt introduced in the chamber.

No. 84. Seal of W. Moraunt.

As the grouping together of ſeveral apartments on the ground-floor rendered the whole building leſs compact and leſs defenſible, the practice ſoon roſe, eſpecially in the better *manoirs*, of making apartments above.

This

This upper apartment was called a *ſoler* (*ſolarium*, a word ſuppoſed to be derived from *ſol*, the ſun, as being, by its poſition, nearer to that luminary, or as receiving more light from it). It was at firſt, and in the leſſer manſions, but a ſmall apartment raiſed above the chamber, and approached by a flight of ſteps outſide, though (but more rarely) the ſtaircaſe was ſometimes internal. In our firſt cut from the Muſeum manuſcript (No. 81), there is a ſoler over the chamber, to which the approach appears to be from the inſide. In the early metrical tales the *ſoler*, and its exterior *ſtaircaſe*, are often alluded to. Thus, in the fabliau *D'Eſtourmi*, in Barbazan, a burgher and his wife deceive three monks of a neighbouring abbey who make love to the lady; ſhe conceals her huſband in the ſoler above, to which he aſcends by a flight of ſteps:—

Teſiez, vous monterez là ſus
En cel ſolier tout coiement.

The monk, before he enters the houſe, paſſes through the court (*cortil*), in which there is a ſheepcot (*bercil*), or perhaps a ſtable. The huſband from the ſoler above looks through a lattice or grate and ſees all that paſſes in the hall—

Par la treillie le porlingne.

The ſtairs ſeem, therefore, to have been outſide the hall, with a latticed window looking into it from the top. The monk appears to have entered the hall by the back door, and the chamber is adjacent to the hall (as in houſes which had no ſoler), on the ſide oppoſite to that on which were the ſtairs. When another monk comes, the huſband hides himſelf under the ſtairs (*ſoux le degré*). The bodies of the monks (who are killed by the huſband) are carried out *parmi une fauſſe poſterne* which leads into the fields (*aus chans*). In the fabliau of *La Sainereſſe*, a woman who performs the operation of bleeding comes to the houſe of a burgher, and finds the man and his wife ſeated on a bench in the yard before the hall—

En mi l'aire de ſa meſon.

The lady ſays ſhe wants bleeding, and takes her upſtairs into the ſoler:—

Montez là ſus en cel ſolier,
Il m'eſtuet de voſtre meſtier.

They

They enter, and cloſe the door. The apartment on the ſoler, although there was a bed in it, is not called a chamber, but a room or ſaloon (*perrin*) :—

Si ſe deſcendent del perrin,
Contreval les degrez enfin
Vindrent errant en la maiſon.

The expreſſion that they came down the ſtairs, and *into the houſe*, ſhows that the ſtaircaſe was outſide.

In another fabliau, *De la borgoiſe d'Orliens*, a burgher comes to his wife in the diſguiſe of her gallant, and the lady, diſcovering the fraud, locks him up in the ſoler, pretending he is to wait there till the houſehold is in bed—

Je vous metrai privéement
En un ſolier dont j'ai la clef.

She then goes to meet her *ami*, and they come from the garden (*vergier*) direct into the chamber without entering the hall. Here ſhe tells him to wait while ſhe goes *in there* (*là dedans*), to give her people their ſupper, and ſhe leaves him while ſhe goes into the hall. The lady afterwards ſends her ſervants to beat her huſband, pretending him to be an importunate ſuitor whom ſhe wiſhes to puniſh! "he waits for me up there in that room :"—

Là ſus m'atent en ce perin.
. . . . . .
Ne ſouffrez pas que il en iſſe,
Ainz l'acueillier al ſolier haut.

They beat him as he deſcends the ſtairs, and purſue him into the garden, all which paſſes without entering the lower apartments of the houſe. The *ſoler*, or upper part of the houſe, appears to have been conſidered the place of greateſt ſecurity—in fact it could only be entered by one door, which was approached by a flight of ſteps, and was therefore more eaſily defended than the ground floor. In the beautiful ſtory *De l'ermite qui s'acompaigna à l'ange*, the hermit and his companion ſeek a night's lodging at the houſe of a rich but miſerly uſurer, who refuſes them admittance into the houſe, and will only permit them to ſleep under the ſtaircaſe, in what the ſtory terms an *auvent* or ſhed. The next morning the

the hermit's young companion goes upſtairs into the ſoler to find the uſurer, who appears to have ſlept there for ſecurity—

Le vallet les degrez monta,
El ſolier ſon hôſte trova.

It was in the thirteenth century a proverbial characteriſtic of an avaricious and inhoſpitable perſon, to ſhut his hall door and live in the ſoler. In a poem of this period, in which the various vices of the age are placed under the ban of excommunication, the miſer is thus pointed out:—

Encor eſcommeni-je plus
Riche homme qui ferme ſon huis,
Et va mengier en ſolier ſus.

The *huis* was the door of the hall. The ſoler appears alſo to have been conſidered as the room of honour for rich lodgers or gueſts who paid well. In the fabliau *Des trois avugles de Compiengne,* three blind men come to the houſe of a burgher, and require to be treated better than uſual; on which he ſhows them upſtairs—

En la haute logis les maine.

A clerc, who follows, after putting his horſe in the ſtable, ſits at table with his hoſt in the hall, while the three other gueſts are ſerved "like knights" in the ſoler above—

Et li avugle du ſolier
Furent ſervi com chevalier.

During the period of which we are ſpeaking, the richer the houſeholder, the greater need he had of ſtudying ſtrength and ſecurity, and hence with him the ſoler, or upper ſtory, became of more importance, and was often made the principal part of the houſe, at leaſt that in which himſelf and his family placed themſelves at night. This was eſpecially the caſe in ſtone buildings, where the ground-floor was often a low vaulted apartment, which ſeems to have been commonly looked upon as a cellar, while the principal room was on the firſt-floor, approached uſually by a ſtaircaſe on the outſide. A houſe of this kind is repreſented in one of our cuts taken from the Bayeux tapeſtry, where the gueſts are

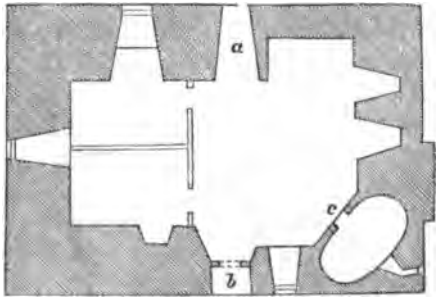
carouſing

carouſing in the room on the firſt-floor. Yet ſtill the vaulted room on the ground-floor was perhaps more often conſidered as the public apartment. In this manner the two apartments of the houſe, inſtead of ſtanding ſide by ſide, were raiſed one upon the other, and formed externally a ſquare maſs of maſonry. Several examples of early manor-houſes of this deſcription ſtill remain, among which one of the moſt remarkable is that at Millichope in Shropſhire, which evidently belongs to the latter half of the twelfth century. It has not been noticed in any work on domeſtic architecture, but I am enabled to deſcribe it from two private

No. 85. Ancient Manor-Houſe, Millichope, Shropſhire.

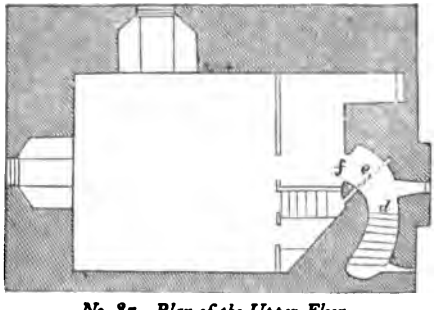
lithographed plates by Mrs. Stackhouſe Acton, of Acton Scott, from which the accompanying cuts are taken. The firſt (No. 85) repreſents the preſent outward appearance of the ancient building, which is now an adjunct to a farm-houſe. The plan is a rectangle, conſiderably longer from north to ſouth than in the tranſverſe direction. The walls are immenſely thick on the ground-floor in compariſon to the ſize of the building, as will be ſeen from the plan of the ground-floor given in the next cut (No. 86). The original entrance was at *b*, by a late Norman arch, ſlightly ornamented, which is ſeen in the view. To the right of this is ſeen one of the

original windows, alſo round arched. On the north and eaſt ſides were two other windows, the openings of them all being ſmall towards the exterior, but enlarging inwards. The interior muſt have been extremely dark; nevertheleſs it contains a fireplace, and was probably the public



No. 86. *Plan of Ground-Floor of Houſe at Millichope.*

room. The opening at *a* is merely a modern paſſage into the farm-houſe. As this houſe ſtands on the borders of Wales, and therefore ſecurity was the principal conſideration, the ſtaircaſe, from the thickneſs of the walls, was ſafer inſide than on the exterior. We accordingly find that it was

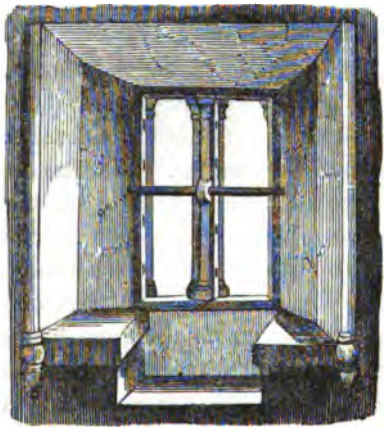


No. 87. *Plan of the Upper Floor.*

worked into the maſs of the wall in the ſouth-weſt corner, the entrance being at *c*. The ſteps of the lower part—it was a ſtone ſtaircaſe—are concealed or deſtroyed, ſo that we hardly know how it commenced, but there are ſteps of ſtone now running up to the ſoler or upper apartment,

as

as repreſented in our plan of the upper floor. This ſtaircaſe received light at the bottom and at the top, by a ſmall loop-hole worked through the wall. Although the walls were ſo maſſive in the lower room, the ſtaircaſe was ſecured by extraordinary precautions. At the top of the ſteps at *d*, again at *e*, and a third time at *f*, were ſtrong doors, ſecured with bolts, which it would have required great force to break open. The laſt of theſe doors led into the upper apartment, which was rather larger than the lower one, the weſt wall being here much thinner. This was evidently the family apartment; it had two windows, on the north and eaſt ſides, each having ſeats at the ſide, with ornamentation of early



No. 88. Inſide of Window at Millichope.

Engliſh character. A view of the northern window from the interior, with its ſeats, is given in our cut No. 88; it is the ſame which is ſeen externally in our ſketch of the houſe: this room had no fireplace.

Towards the fourteenth century, the rooms of houſes began to be multiplied, and they were often built round a court; the additions were made chiefly to the offices, and to the number of chambers. They were ſtill built more of wood than of ſtone, and the carpenter was the chief perſon employed in their conſtruction. In the fabliau of Trubert, printed by Méon, a duke, intending to build a new houſe, employs a carpenter to

to make the deſign, and takes him into his woods to ſelect timber for materials. It may give ſome notion of the ſimplicity of the arrangement of a houſe, and the ſmall number of rooms, even when required for royalty itſelf, when we ſtate that in the January of 1251, king Henry III., intending to viſit Hampſhire, and requiring a houſe for himſelf with his queen and court, gave orders to the ſheriff of Southampton to build at Freemantle a hall, a kitchen, and a chamber with an upper ſtory (*cum eſtagio*, ſometimes called in documents written in French *chambre eſtagée*), and a chapel on the ground, for the king's uſe; and a chamber with an upper ſtory, with a chapel at the end of the ſame chamber, for the queen's uſe. Under the chamber was to be made a cellar for the king's wines.

The chamber had, indeed, now become ſo important a part of the building, that its name was not unuſually given to the whole houſe, which, in the documents of the thirteenth century, is ſometimes called a *camera ad eſtagiam*—an upper-ſtoried chamber. Such was the caſe with a houſe built in 1285 for Edward I. and his queen in the foreſt at Woolmer, in Hampſhire, the account of the expenſes of which are preſerved in the Pipe Rolls. This houſe was ſeventy-two feet long, and twenty-eight feet wide. It had two chimneys, a chapel, and two wardrobes. The chapel and wardrobe had ſix glazed windows. There was alſo a hall in it, but the two chimneys appear to have belonged to the chamber. The windows of the chamber and hall had wooden ſhutters (*hoſtia*), but do not appear to have had glaſs. The kitchen was the only other apartment in the houſe. The ordinary windows of a houſe at this time were not uſually glazed; but they were either latticed, or conſiſted of a mere opening, which was covered by a cloth or curtain by day, and was cloſed by a ſhutter, which turned upon hinges, either ſideways, like an ordinary door, or up and down, and which ſeems generally to have opened outwards. The rooms were, in this manner, very imperfectly protected againſt the weather, even in palaces. A precept of Henry III. has been quoted, which directs glaſs to be ſubſtituted for wood in a window in the queen's wardrobe at the Tower, "in order that that chamber might not be ſo windy;" and in the ſame reign a charge is made in the accounts relating

relating to the royal manor at Kennington, "for closing the windows better than usual (*et in feneſtris melius ſolito claudendis*)."*

These remarks on the general character of the house are, of course, intended to apply to the ordinary dwelling-house, and not to the more extensive mansion—which already in the thirteenth century was made to surround, wholly or partly, an interior court—or to the castle. These more extensive edifices consisted only of a greater accumulation of the rooms and details which were found in the smaller house. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, no great change took place in the general characteristics of a private house. The hall was still the largest and most important room, and was now usually raised on an under vaulted room, which, to whatever use it may have been applied, was usually called the *cellar*. Part of it appears to have been sometimes employed as the stable. In the carpenter's house, in Chaucer's Milleres Tale, the hall, which is evidently the main part of the building, was open to the roof, with cross beams, on which they hanged the troughs, and the stable was attached to it, and intervened between the house and the garden. In the Cokes Tale of Gamelyn, the hall has its posts, or columns, and there is attached to it a room called a *spence*, which was more frequently called the *buttery*, in which victuals of different kinds, and the wine and plate, were locked up, and the man who had the charge of it was called the *spencer* or *despencer*, which it is hardly necessary to say was the origin of two common English surnames. The gentleman's house, in Chaucer's Sompnoures Tale, was a "large halle," and is called a *court*, which had now become an ordinary term for a manor-house.

> *A stordy paas doun to the court he goth,*
> *Wher as ther woonyd a man of gret honour.*—Chaucer's Cant. Tales, l. 7,744.

In the Nonne Prestes Tale, the poor widow's cottage also has its hall and *bour*, or chamber, although they were all sooty, of course, from the fires, which had no chimney to carry off the smoke.

> *Ful sooty was hir bour, and eek hir halle.*—Ib. l. 16,318.

* In the description of a splendid hall, in the English metrical romance of kyng Alisaunder (Weber, i. 312), the windows are made "of riche glas."

This

This houſe was ſituated within a court, or, as it is called, *yard*, which was encloſed by a hedge of ſticks, and by a ditch:—

A yerd ſche had, encloſed al aboute
With ſtikkes, and a drye dich withoute.

In the Tale of Gamelyn, the yard, or court, as we uſe the Anglo-Saxon or the Anglo-Norman name for it, had a ſtronger fence, with a gate and wicket faſtened by lock and bolt, and apparently a lodge for the porter. In the yard there was a draw-well, ſeven fathoms deep. While Gamelyn took poſſeſſion of the hall, his brother ſhut himſelf up in the cellar, which could be made a ſafe place of refuge, when all the reſt of the houſe was in the power of an enemy. The yard here had alſo a poſtern-gate. In the carpenter's houſe, in Chaucer's Milleres Tale, the chamber has a low window, to ſwing outwardly—

So mote I thryve, I ſchal at cokkes crowe
Ful pryvely go knokke at his wyndowe,
That ſtant ful lowe upon his bowres wal—

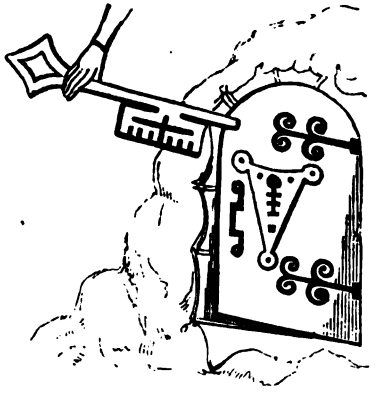
which is immediately afterwards called the "ſchot wyndowe"—

Unto his breſt it raught, it was ſo lowe.

A new apartment had now been added to the houſe, called in Anglo-Norman a parlour (*parloir*), becauſe it was literally the talking-room. It belonged originally to the monaſtic houſes, where the parlour was the room for receiving people who came to converſe on buſineſs, and, when introduced into private houſes, it was a ſort of ſecondary hall, where viſitors might be received more privately than in the great hall, and yet with leſs familiarity than in the chamber. In the ſtory of Sir Cleges, the knight finds the king ſeated in his parlour, and liſtening to a harper. In a Latin document of the year 1473, printed in Rymer's Fœdera, a citizen of London has, in his manſion-houſe there, a parlour adjoining the garden (*in quadam parlura adjacente gardino*).

Houſes were, as I have before ſtated, uſually built in great part of timber, and it was only where unuſual ſtrength was required, or elſe from a ſpirit of oſtentation, that they were made of ſtone. There appear to have

have been very few fixtures in the inſide, and, as furniture was ſcanty, the rooms muſt have appeared very bare. In timber houſes, of courſe, it was not eaſy to make cupboards or cloſets in the walls, but this was not the caſe when they were built of ſtone. Even in the latter caſe, however, the walls appear not to have been much excavated for ſuch purpoſes. Our cut No. 89 repreſents a cupboard door, taken from an illuminated manuſcript of the thirteenth century, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; it is curious for its ironwork, eſpecially the lock and key.



No. 89. *A Cupboard Door.*

The ſmaller articles of domeſtic uſe were uſually depoſited in cheſts, or placed upon ſideboards and moveable ſtands. In the houſes of the wealthy a ſeparate room was built for the wardrobe.

The accompanying figure (cut No. 90), taken from a manuſcript in the Cottonian Library (Nero, D. vii.), repreſents the cellarer, or houſe-ſteward, of the abbey of St. Alban's, in the fourteenth century, carrying the keys of the cellar door, which appear to be of remarkably large dimenſions; he holds the two keys in one hand, and a purſe, or, rather, a bag of money, in the other, the ſymbols of his office. A drawing in the ſame MS., copied in our cut No. 91, ſhows us the entrance-door to an ordinary houſe,

No. 90. *The Cellarer of St. Alban's.*

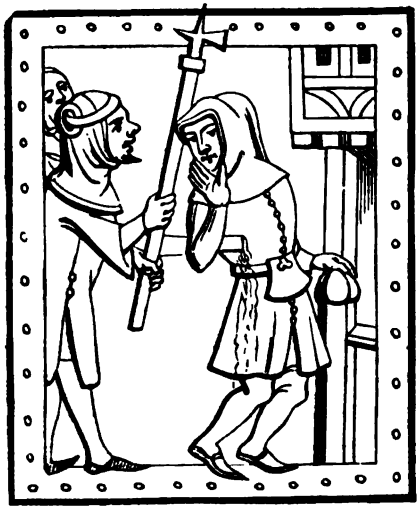
houſe, with a ſoler, or upper room, above. The individual intended to be repreſented was Alan Middleton, who is recorded in the catalogue of officers of St. Alban's as "collector of rents of the obedientiaries of that monastery, and eſpecially of thoſe of the burſar." A ſmall tonſure denotes him as a monaſtic officer, while the penner and inkhorn at his girdle denote the nature of his office; and he is juſt opening the door of one of the abbey tenants to perform his function. The door is intended to be repreſented opening outwards. Theſe Benedictines of St. Alban's

No. 91. Alan Middleton.

have alſo immortaliſed another of their inferior officers, Walterus de Hamunteſham, who was attacked and grievouſly wounded by the rabble of St. Alban's, while ſtanding up for the rights and liberties of the church. He appears (cut No. 92) to be attempting to gain ſhelter in a houſe, which alſo has a ſoler.

There was one fixture in the interior of the houſe, which is frequently mentioned in old writers, and muſt not be overlooked. It was frequently called a *perche* (*pertica*), and conſiſted of a wooden frame fixed to the wall, for the purpoſe of hanging up articles of clothing and various other things. The curious tract of Alexander Neckam, entitled *Summa de nominibus*

nominibus utenſilium, ſtates that each chamber ſhould have two perches, one on which the domeſtic birds, hawks and falcons, were to ſit, the other for ſuſpending ſhirts, kerchiefs, breeches, capes, mantles, and other articles



No. 92. Walter de Hamunteſham attacked by a Mob.

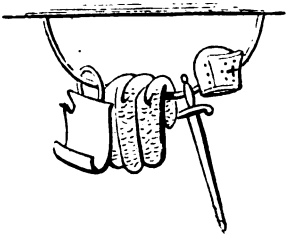
of clothing. In reference to the latter uſage, one of the mediæval Latin poets has the memorial line—

Pertica diverſos pannos retinere ſolebat.

Our cut No. 93, taken from a manuſcript of the *Roman de la Roſe*, written in the fourteenth century, and now preſerved in the National Library in Paris (No. 6985, fol. 2, v°), repreſents a perche, with two garments ſuſpended upon it. The one repreſented in our next cut (No. 94) is of rather a different form, and is made to ſupport the arms of a knight, his helmet, ſword, and ſhield, and his coat of mail; but how the ſword and helmet are attached to it is far from clear. This example is taken from an illuminated manuſcript of a well-known work by Guillaume de Deguilleville, *Le Pelerinage de la Vie humaine*, of the latter end of the fourteenth century, alſo preſerved in the French National Library (No. 6988):

another copy of the ſame work, preſerved in the ſame great collection (No. 7210), but of the fifteenth century, gives a ſtill more perfect repreſentation of the perche, ſupporting, as in the laſt example, a helmet, a

No. 93. A Perche.



No. 94. Another Perche.

ſhield, and coats of mail. In the foreground, a queen is depoſiting the ſtaff and ſcrip of a hermit in a cheſt, for greater ſecurity. This ſubject is repreſented in our cut No. 95.

Furniture of every kind continued to be rare, and chairs were by no

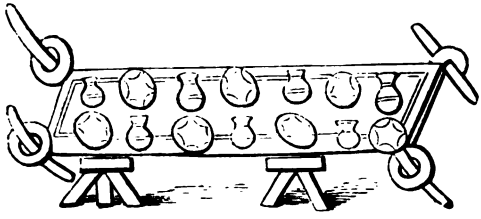
No. 95. Scene in a Chamber.

means common articles in ordinary houſes. In the chambers, ſeats were made in the maſonry by the ſide of the windows, as repreſented in our cut

cut No. 88, and ſometimes along the walls. Common benches were the uſual ſeats, and theſe were often formed by merely laying a plank upon two treſtles. Such a bench is probably repreſented in the accompanying cut (No. 96), taken from a manuſcript of the romance of Triſtan, of the

No. 96. A Bench on Treſtles.

fourteenth century, preſerved in the National Library at Paris (No. 7178). Tables were made in the ſame manner. We now, however, find not unfrequent mention of a *table dormant* in the hall, which was of courſe a table fixed to the ſpot, and which was not taken away like the others: it was probably the great table of the *dais*, or upper end of the hall. To "begin



No. 97. A Table on Treſtles.

the table dormant" was a popular phraſe, apparently equivalent to taking the firſt place at the feaſt. Chaucer, in the prologue to the Canterbury Tales, deſcribing the profuſe hoſpitality of the Frankeleyn, ſays—

His table dormant in his halle alway
Stood redy covered al the longe day.

Yet,

Yet, during the whole of this period, it continued to be the common practice to make the table for a meal, by merely laying a board upon treſtles. The ſecond cut on the preceding page (No. 97) is a very curious repreſentation of ſuch a table, from a manuſcript of the thirteenth century, preſerved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (MS. Arch. A. 154). It muſt be underſtood that the objects which are ranged alternately with the drinking-veſſels are loaves of bread, not plates.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE OLD ENGLISH HALL.—THE KITCHEN, AND ITS CIRCUMSTANCES.—THE DINNER-TABLE.—MINSTRELSY.

AS I have already ſtated, the hall continued to be the moſt important part of the houſe; and in large manſions it was made of proportional dimenſions. It was a general place of rendezvous for the houſehold, eſpecially for the retainers and followers, and in the evening it ſeems uſually to have been left entirely to them, and they made their beds and paſſed the night in it. Strangers or viſitors were brought into the hall. In the curious old poem edited by Mr. Halliwell, entitled "The Boke of Curtaſye," we find eſpecial directions on this ſubject. When a gentleman or yeoman came to the houſe of another, he was directed to leave his weapons with the porter at the outward gate or wicket, before he entered. It appears to have been the etiquette that if the perſon thus preſenting himſelf were of higher rank than the perſon he viſited, the latter ſhould go out to receive him at the gate; if the contrary, the viſitor was admitted through the gate, and proceeded to the hall.

Whanne thou comes to a lordis gate,
The porter thou ſhalle fynde therate;
Take (give) *hym thow ſhalt thy wetyn tho* (then),
And aſke hym leve in to go.
. . . . . .
. . . *yf he be of logh* (low) *degré,*
Than hym falles to come to the.

At the hall door the viſitor was to take off his hood and gloves—

When thow come tho halle dor to,
Do of thy hode, thy gloves alſo.

If, when he entered the hall, the viſitor found the family at meat, he ſtood

ſtood at the bottom of the apartment in a reſpectful attitude, till the lord of the houſe ſent a ſervant to lead him to a place where he was to ſit at table. As you deſcended lower in ſociety, ſuch ceremonies were leſs obſerved; and the clergy in general ſeem to have been allowed a much greater licence than the laity. In the Sompneres Tale, in Chaucer, when the friar, who has received an inſult from an inferior inhabitant, goes "to the court" to complain to the lord of the village, he finds the latter in his hall at the dinner table--

This frere com, as he were in a rage,
Wher that this lord ſat etyng at his bord.—Chaucer's Cant. Tales, l. 7348.

The lord, ſurpriſed at the agitation in the countenance of the friar, who had come in without any ſort of introduction, invites him to ſit down, and inquires into his buſineſs. There is a ſcene in the early Engliſh metrical romance of Ipomydon, in which this hero and his preceptor Tholoman go to the reſidence of the heireſs of Calabria. At the caſtle gate they were ſtopped by the porter, whom they aſk to announce them in the hall:—

The porter to theyme they gan calle,
And prayd hym, 'Go into the halle,
And ſay thy lady gent and fre,
That come ar men of ferre contré,
And, if it pleſe hyr, we wold hyr prey
That we myght ete with hyr to-day.—Weber, Metr. Rom. ii. 290.

The porter "courteouſly" undertook the meſſage, and, at the immediate order of the lady, who was ſitting at her meat, he went back, took charge of their horſes and pages, and introduced them into the hall. Then they aſked to be taken into the lady's ſervice, who accepted their offer, and invited them to take their place at the dinner:—

He thankid the lady corteſly,
She comandyth hym to the mete;
But, or he ſatte in any ſete,
He ſaluted theym grate and ſmalle,
As a gentille man ſhuld in halle.—Weber, ii. 292.

Perhaps, before entering the mediæval hall, we ſhall do well to give a glance at the kitchen. It is an opinion, which has not unfrequently been

been entertained, that living in the middle ages was coarſe and not elaborate; and that old Engliſh fare conſiſted chiefly in roaſt beef and plum-pudding. That nothing, however, could be more incorrect, is fully proved by the rather numerous mediæval cookery books which are ſtill preſerved, and which contain chiefly directions for made diſhes, many of them very complicated, and, to appearance, extremely delicate. The office of cook, indeed, was one of great importance, and was well paid; and the kitchens of the ariſtocracy were very extenſive, and were furniſhed with a conſiderable variety of implements of cookery. On account, no doubt, of this importance, Alexander Neckam, although an eccleſiaſtic, commences his vocabulary (or, as it is commonly entitled, Liber de Utenſilibus), compiled in the latter part of the twelfth century, with an account of the kitchen and its furniture. He enumerates, among other objects, a table for chopping and mincing herbs and vegetables; pots, trivets or tripods, an axe, a mortar and peſtle, a mover, or pot-ſtick, for ſtirring, a crook or pot-hook (*uncus*), a caldron, a frying-pan, a gridiron, a poſnet or ſaucepan, a diſh, a platter, a ſaucer, or veſſel for mixing ſauce, a hand-mill, a pepper-mill, a mier, or inſtrument for reducing bread to crumbs. John de Garlande, in his "Dictionarius," compoſed towards the middle of the thirteenth century, gives a ſimilar enumeration; and a compariſon of the vocabularies of the fifteenth century, ſhows that the arrangements of the kitchen had undergone little change during the intervening period. From theſe vocabularies the following liſt of kitchen utenſils is gathered:—a brandreth, or iron tripod, for ſupporting the caldron over the fire; a caldron, a dreſſing-board and dreſſing-knife, a braſs-pot, a poſnet, a frying-pan, a gridiron, or, as it is ſometimes called, a roaſting-iron; a ſpit, a "gobard," explained in the MS. by *ipegurgium;* a mier, a fleſh-hook, a ſcummer, a ladle, a pot-ſtick, a ſlice for turning meat in the frying-pan, a pot-hook, a mortar and peſtle, a pepper-quern, a platter, a ſaucer.

The older illuminated manuſcripts are rarely ſo elaborate as to furniſh us with repreſentations of all theſe kitchen implements; and, in fact, it is not in the more elaborately illuminated manuſcripts that kitchen ſcenes are often found. But we meet with repreſentations of ſome of them in artiſtic

artiſtic ſketches of a leſs elaborate character, though theſe are generally connected with the leſs refined proceſſes of cookery. The mediæval landlords were obliged to conſume the produce of the land on their own eſtates, and, for this and other very cogent reaſons, a large proportion of the proviſions in ordinary uſe conſiſted of ſalted meat, which was laid up in ſtore in vaſt quantities in the baronial larders. Hence boiling was a much more common method of cooking meat than roaſting, for which, indeed, the mediæval fire, placed on the ground, was much leſs convenient; it is, no doubt, for this reaſon that the cook is moſt frequently repreſented in the mediæval drawings with the caldron on the fire. In ſome inſtances, chiefly of the fifteenth century, the caldron is ſupported from above by a pot-hook, but more uſually it ſtands over the fire upon three legs of its own, or upon a three-legged frame. A manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum of the fourteenth century (MS. Reg. 10, E. iv.), belonging formerly to the monaſtery of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, contains a ſeries of ſuch illuſtrations, from which the following are ſelected.

No. 98. Making the Pot boil.

In the firſt of theſe (No. 98) it is evidently a three-legged caldron which ſtands over the fire, to increaſe the heat of which the cook makes uſe of a pair of bellows, which bears a remarkably cloſe reſemblance to the ſimilar articles made in modern times. Bellows were certainly in common uſe in Anglo-Saxon times, for the name is Anglo-Saxon, *bælg*, *bælig*, and *bylig*; but as the original meaning of this word was merely a *bag*, it is probable that the early Anglo-Saxon bellows was of very rude character: it was ſometimes diſtinguiſhed by the compound name, *blaſt-bælg*, a blaſt-bag, or bellows. Our ſecond example from this MS. (cut No. 99) is one of a ſeries of deſigns belonging to ſome mediæval ſtory or legend, with which I am not acquainted. A young man carrying the veſſel for the holy water, and the aſperſoir with which it was ſprinkled over the people, and who may therefore be ſuppoſed to be the holy-water clerc, is making

making acquaintance with the female cook. The latter ſeems to have been interrupted in the act of taking ſome object out of the caldron with a fleſh-hook. The caldron here again is three-legged. In the ſequel,

No. 99. *The Holy-Water Clerc and the Cook.*

the acquaintance between the cook and the holy-water clerc appears to have ripened into love; but we may preſume from the manner in which it was repreſented (No. 100), that this love was not of a very diſintereſted

No. 100. *Intereſted Friendſhip.*

character on the part of the clerc, for he is taking advantage of her affection to ſteal the animal which ſhe is boiling in the caldron. The

conventional manner in which the animal ſeems to be drawn, renders it difficult to decide what that animal is. The mediæval artiſts ſhow a taſte for playful delineations of this kind, which occur not unfrequently in

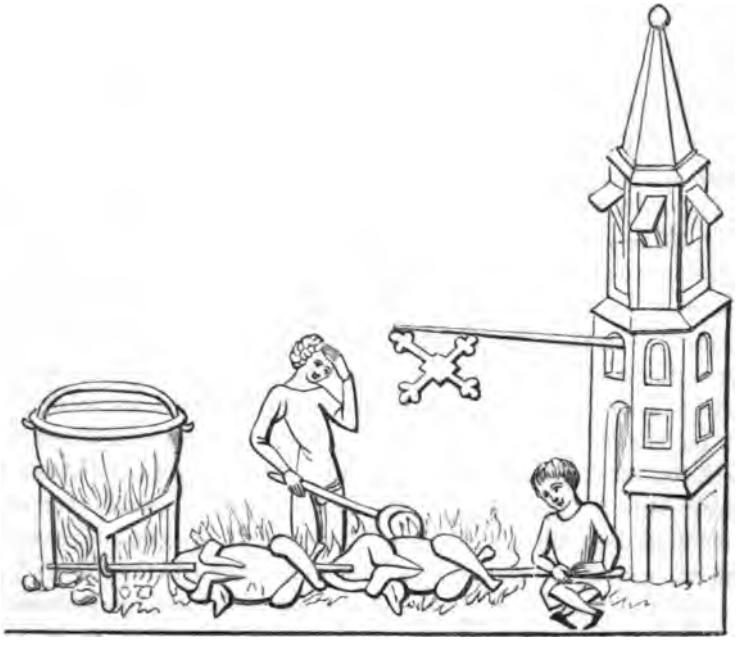
No. 101. *A Kitchen Scene.*

illuminated manuſcripts, and in carvings and ſculptures. One of the ſtalls in Hereford cathedral, copied in the accompanying cut (No. 101), repreſents a ſcene of this deſcription. A man is attempting to take liberties with the cook, who has in return thrown a platter at his head. In our next cut (No. 102), taken from another MS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, alſo of the fourteenth century (MS. Reg. 16, E. viii.), the object cooked in the caldron is a boar's head, which the cook, an ill-favoured and hump-backed man, is placing on a diſh to be carried to the table. The caldron, in this inſtance, appears to be intended to have been of more ornamental character than the others.

No. 102. *The Boar's Head.*

It

It will have been remarked that in moſt of theſe pictures the proceſs of cookery appears to have been carried on in the open air, for, in one inſtance, a tree ſtands not far from the caldron. This appears, indeed, to have been frequently the caſe, and there can be no doubt that it was intended to be ſo repreſented in our next cut (No. 103), taken from the well-known manuſcript of the romance of "Alexander," in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford. We have here the two proceſſes of boiling and



No. 103. *Boiling and Roaſting.*

roaſting, but the latter is only employed for fowls (geeſe in this caſe). While the cook is baſting them, the *quiſtron*, or kitchen-boy, is turning the ſpit, which is ſupported in a very curious manner on one leg of the tripod or trivet, on which the caldron is here ſupported. The building to the right is ſhown by the ſign to be an inn, and we are, probably, to ſuppoſe, that this out-of-door cooking is required by ſome unuſual feſtivity.

Although

Although meat was, doubtleſs, ſometimes roaſted, this proceſs ſeems to have been much more commonly applied to poultry and game, and even freſh meat was very uſually boiled. One cauſe of this may, perhaps, have been, that it ſeems to have been a common practice to eat the meat, and even game, freſh killed—the beef or mutton ſeems to have been often killed for the occaſion on the day it was eaten. In the old fabliau of the "Bouchier d'Abbeville" (Barbazan, tom. iv. p. 6), the butcher, having come to Bailueil late in the evening, and obtained a night's lodging at the prieſt's, kills his ſheep for the ſupper. The ſhoulders were to be roaſted, the reſt, as it appears, was recommended to be boiled. The butchers, indeed, ſeem uſually to have done their work in the kitchen, and to have killed and cut up the animals for the occaſion. There is a curious ſtory in the Engliſh Geſta Romanorum (edited by Sir Frederic Madden), which illuſtrates this practice. "Cæſar was emperor of Rome, that had a foreſt, in the which he had planted vines and other divers trees many; and he ordained over his foreſt a ſteward, whoſe name was Jonatas, bidding him, upon pain, to keep the vines and the plants. It fell, after this ordinance of the emperor, that Jonatas took the care of the foreſt; and upon a day a ſwine came into the foreſt, the new plants he rooted up. When Jonatas ſaw the ſwine enter, he cut off his tail, and the ſwine made a cry, and went out. Neverthleſs, he entered again, and did much harm in the foreſt. When Jonatas ſaw that, he cut off his left ear; and the hog made a great cry, and went out. Notwithſtanding this, he entered again the third day; and Jonatas ſaw him, and cut off his right ear, and with a horrible cry he went out. Yet the fourth day the ſwine re-entered the foreſt, and did much damage. When Jonatas ſaw that the hog would not be warned, he ſmote him through with his ſpear, and ſlew him, and delivered the body to the cook for to array the next day to the emperor's meat. But when the emperor was ſerved of this ſwine, he aſked of his ſervants, 'Where is the heart of this ſwine?'—becauſe the emperor loved the heart beſt of any beaſt, and more than all the beaſt. The ſervants aſked the cook where the heart of the ſwine was, for the lord inquired after it. The cook, when he had arrayed the heart, ſaw it was good and fat, and eat it;

it; and he ſaid to the ſervants, 'Say to the emperor that the hog had no heart.' The emperor ſaid, 'It may not be; and therefore ſay to him, upon pain of death, that he ſend me the heart of the ſwine, for there is no beaſt in all the world without a heart.' The ſervants went to the cook with the emperor's orders; and he replied, 'Say to my lord, but if I prove mightily by clear reaſons that the ſwine had no heart, I put me fully to his will, to do with me as he likes.' The emperor, when he heard this, aſſigned him a day to anſwer. When the day was come, the cook, with a high voice, ſaid before all men, 'My lord, this is the day of my anſwer. Firſt I ſhall ſhow you that the ſwine had no heart; this is the reaſon. Every thought cometh from the heart, therefore every man or beaſt feeleth good or evil; it followeth of neceſſity that by this the heart thinketh.' The emperor ſaid, 'That is truth.' 'Then,' ſaid the cook, 'now ſhall I ſhow by reaſons that the ſwine had no heart. Firſt he entered the foreſt, and the ſteward cut off his tail; if he had had a heart, he ſhould have thought on his tail that was loſt, but he thought not thereupon, for afterwards he entered the foreſt, and the foreſter cut off his left ear. If he had had a heart, he ſhould have thought on his left ear, but he thought not, for the third time he entered the foreſt. That ſaw the foreſter, and cut off his right ear; where, if he had had a heart, he ſhould have thought that he had loſt his tail and both his ears, and never ſhould have gone again where he had ſo many evils. But yet the fourth time he entered the foreſt, and the ſteward ſaw that, and ſlew him, and delivered him to me to array to your meat. Here may ye ſee, my lord, that I have ſhown, by worthy reaſons, that the ſwine had no heart.' And thus eſcaped the cook."

The ſtory which follows this in the Geſta, tells of an emperor named "Alexaundre," "who of great need ordained for a law, that no man ſhould turn the plaice in his diſh, but that he ſhould only eat the white ſide, and in no wiſe the black ſide; and if any man did the contrary, he ſhould die!" It is hardly neceſſary to remark, that fiſh was a great article of conſumption in the middle ages, and eſpecially among the eccleſiaſtics and monks. The accompanying cut on the following page (No. 104), from a manuſcript of the fourteenth century in the British Muſeum

Muſeum (MS. Harl. No. 1527), repreſents probably the ſteward of a monaſtery receiving a preſent of fiſh.

In large houſes, and on great occaſions, the various meats and diſhes were carried from the kitchen to the hall with extraordinary ceremony by the ſervants of the kitchen, who delivered them at the entrance of the hall to other attendants of a higher claſs, who alone were allowed to approach the tables. Our cut No. 105, from MS. Reg. 10, E. iv., repreſents one of theſe ſervants carrying a pot and platter, or ſtand for the pot,

No. 104. *A Preſent of Fiſh.*

No. 105. *A Pot and Platter.*

which, perhaps, contained gravy or ſoup. The roaſts appear to have been uſually carried into the hall on the ſpits, which, among people of great rank, were ſometimes made of ſilver; and the gueſts at table ſeem to have torn, or cut, from the ſpit what they wanted. Several early illuminations repreſent this practice of people helping themſelves from the ſpits, and it is alluded to, not very unfrequently, in the mediæval writers. In the romance of "Pariſe la Ducheſſe," when the ſervants enter the hall with the meats for the table, one is deſcribed as carrying a roaſted peacock on a ſpit:—

> *Atant ez les ſerjanz qui portent le mangier;*
> *Li uns porte .i. paon roti en un aſtier.*—Romans de Parise, p. 172.

In the romance of "Garin le Loherain," on an occaſion when a quarrel began in the hall at the beginning of the dinner, the duke Begon, for

for want of other weapons, ſnatched from the hands of one of the attendants a long ſpit "full of plovers, which were hot and roaſted:"—

Li dus avoit un grant haſtier ſaiſi,
Plain de ploviers, qui chaut ſunt et roſti.—Romans de Garin, II. 19.

But the moſt curious illuſtration of the univerſality of this practice is found in a Latin ſtory, probably of the thirteenth century, in which we are told of a man who had a glutton for his wife. One day he roaſted for their dinner a fowl, and when they had ſat down at the table, the wife ſaid, "Give me a wing?" The huſband gave her the wing; and,

No. 106. *Bringing the Dinner into Hall.*

at her demand, all the other members in ſucceſſion, until ſhe had devoured the whole fowl herſelf, at which, no longer able to contain his anger, he ſaid, "Lo, you have eaten the whole fowl yourſelf, and nothing remains but the ſpit, which it is but right that you ſhould taſte alſo." And thereupon he took the ſpit, and beat her ſeverely with it.

Our cut (No. 106), taken from a large illumination, given from a manuſcript of the fifteenth century by the late M. du Sommerard, in his great work on mediæval art, repreſents the ſervants of the hall, headed by the ſteward, or *maître d'hôtel*, with his rod of office, bringing the diſhes

diſhes to the table in formal proceſſion. Their approach and arrival were uſually announced by the ſounding of trumpets and muſic. The ſervants were often preceded by muſic, as we ſee in our cut No. 107, taken from a very fine MS. of the early part of the fourteenth century, in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Reg. 2, B. vii.). A repreſentation of a ſimilar ſcene occurs at the foot of the large Flemiſh braſs of Robert Braunche and his two wives at St. Margaret's Church, Lynn, which is intended as a delineation of a feaſt given by the corporation of Lynn to king Edward III. Servants from both ſides of the picture are bringing in that famous diſh of chivalry, the peacock with his tail diſplayed; and two bands of minſtrels are uſhering in the banquet with their ſtrains; the

No. 107. *Serving in Hall.*

date of the braſs is about 1364 A.D. Thoſe who ſerved at the table itſelf, whoſe buſineſs was chiefly to carve and preſent the wine, were of ſtill higher rank—never leſs than eſquires—and often, in the halls of princes and great chiefs, nobles and barons. The meal itſelf was conducted with the ſame degree of ceremony, of which a vivid picture may be drawn from the directions given in the work called the "Ménagier de Paris," compoſed about the year 1393. When it was announced that the dinner was ready, the gueſts advanced to the hall, led ceremoniouſly by two *maîtres d'hôtel*, who ſhowed them their places, and ſerved them with water to waſh their hands before they began. They found the tables ſpread with fine table-cloths, and covered with a profuſion of richly-ornamented plate, conſiſting of ſalt-cellars, goblets, pots or cups for drinking,

drinking, ſpoons, &c. At the high table, the meats were eaten from ſlices of bread, called trenchers (*tranchoirs*), which, after the meats were eaten, were thrown into veſſels called *coulouères*. In a conſpicuous part of the hall ſtood the dreſſer or cupboard, which was covered with veſſels of plate, which two eſquires carried thence to the table, to replace thoſe which were emptied. Two other eſquires were occupied in bringing wine to the dreſſer, from whence it was ſerved to the gueſts at the tables. The diſhes, forming a number of courſes, varying according to the occaſion, were brought in by valets, led by two eſquires. An *aſſéeur*, or placer, took the diſhes from the hands of the valets, and arranged them in their places on the table. After theſe courſes, freſh table-cloths were laid, and the *entremets* were brought, conſiſting of ſweets, jellies, &c., many of them moulded into elegant or fantaſtic forms; and, in the middle of the table, raiſed above the reſt, were placed a ſwan, peacocks, or pheaſants, dreſſed up in their feathers, with their beaks and feet gilt. In leſs ſumptuous entertainments the expenſive courſe of *entremets* was uſually omitted. Laſt of all came the deſſert, conſiſting of cheeſe, confectionaries, fruit, &c., concluded by what was called the *iſſue* (departure from table), conſiſting uſually of a draught of hypocras, and the *boute-hors* (turn out), wine and ſpices ſerved round, which terminated the repaſt. The gueſts then waſhed their hands, and repaired into another room, where they were ſerved with wine and ſweetmeats, and, after a ſhort time, ſeparated. The dinner, ſerved ſlowly and ceremoniouſly, muſt have occupied a conſiderable length of time. After the gueſts had left the hall, the ſervers and attendants took their places at the tables.

The furniture of the hall was ſimple, and conſiſted of but a few articles. In large reſidences, the floor at the upper end of the hall was raiſed, and was called the *dais*. On this the chief table was placed, ſtretching lengthways acroſs the hall. The ſubordinate tables were arranged below, down each ſide of the hall. In the middle was generally the fire, ſometimes in an iron grate. At the upper end of the hall there was often a cup-board or a dreſſer for the plate, &c. The tables were ſtill merely boards placed on treſſels, though the table dormant, or ſtationary table, began to be more common. Perhaps the large

table on the dais was generally a table dormant. The ſeats were merely benches or forms, except the principal ſeat againſt the wall on the dais, which was often in the form of a ſettle, with back and elbows. Such a ſeat is repreſented in our cut No. 108, taken from a manuſcript of the romance of Meliadus, in the National Library at Paris, No. 6961. On

No. 108. *The Seat on the Dais.*

ſpecial occaſions, the hall was hung round with tapeſtry, or curtains, which were kept for that purpoſe, and one of theſe curtains ſeems commonly to have been ſuſpended againſt the wall behind the dais. A carpet was ſometimes laid on the floor, which, however, was more uſually ſpread with ruſhes. Sometimes, in the illuminations, the floor appears to be paved with ornamental tiles, without carpet or ruſhes. It

was

was alſo not unuſual to bring a chair into the hall as a mark of particular reſpect. Thus, in the Engliſh metrical romance of Sir Iſumbras:—

The riche qwene in haulle was ſett,
Knyghttes hir ſerwes to handes and fete,
Were clede in robis of palle;
In the floure a clothe was layde,
"This poore palmere," the ſtewarde ſayde,
"Salle ſytte abowene yow alle."
Mete and drynke was forthe broghte,
Sir Iſambrace ſett and ete noghte,
Bot luked abowte in the haulle.
. . . . . .
So lange he ſatt and ete noghte,
That the lady grete wondir thoghte,
And tille a knyghte gane ſaye,
"Bryng a chayere and a qwyſchene (cushion),
And ſett yone poore palmere therin."
. . . . . .
A riche chayere than was ther ſett,
This poore palmere therin was ſett,
He tolde hir of his laye.

Until comparatively a very recent date, the hour of dinner, even among the higheſt claſſes of ſociety, was ten o'clock in the forenoon. There was an old proverb which defined the diviſions of the domeſtic day as follows:—

Lever à ſix, diſner à dix,
Souper à ſix, coucher à dix.

Which is preſerved in a ſtill older and more complete form as follows:—

Lever à cinq, diner à neuf,
Souper a cinq, coucher à neuf,
Fait vivre d'ans nonante et neuf.

Five o'clock was the well-known hour of the afternoon meal; and nine ſeems formerly to have been an ordinary hour for dinner. In the time of Chaucer, the hour of *prime* appears to have been the uſual dinner hour, which perhaps meant nine o'clock. At leaſt the monk, in the Schipmannes Tale, calls for dinner at prime:—

"Goth now your way," quod he, "al ſtille and ſofte,
And let us dyne as ſone as ye may,
For by my chilindre it is prime of day."

And

And the lady to whom this is addreſſed, in reply, expreſſes impatience, leſt they ſhould paſs the hour. The dinner appears to have been uſually announced by the blowing of horns. In the romance of Richard Cœur de Lion, on the arrival of viſitors, the tables were laid out for dinner—

They ſette treſteles, and layde a borde;
. . . . . .
Trumpes begonne for to blowe.—Weber, ii. 7.

Before the meal, each gueſt was ſerved with water to waſh. It was the buſineſs of the ewer to ſerve the gueſts with water for this purpoſe, which he did with a jug and baſin, while another attendant ſtood by with a towel. Our cut No. 109, repreſents this proceſs; it is taken from

No. 109. *Waſhing before Dinner.*

a fine manuſcript of the "Livre de la Vie Humaine," preſerved in the National Library in Paris, No. 6988. In the originals of this group, the jug and baſin are repreſented as of gold. In the copy of the Seven Sages, printed by Weber (p. 148), the preparations for a dinner are thus deſcribed:—

Thai ſet treſtes, and bordes on layd;
Thai ſpred clathes, and ſalt on ſet,
And made redy unto the mete;
Thai ſet forth water and towelle.

The company, however, ſometimes waſhed before going to the table, and for

for this purpoſe there were lavours, or lavatories, in the hall itſelf, or ſometimes outſide. The ſignal for waſhing was then given by the blowing of trumpets, or by the muſic of the minſtrels. Thus, in the Engliſh metrical romance of Richard Cœur de Lion,

At noon à laver the waytes blewe,

meaning, of courſe, the canonical hour of *none*. Grace was alſo ſaid at the commencement, or at the end, of the meal, but this part of the ceremony is but ſlightly alluded to in the old writers.

Having waſhed, the gueſts ſeated themſelves at table. Then the attendants ſpread the cloths over the tables; they then placed on them the ſalt-cellars and the knives; and next the bread, and the wine in drinking cups. All this is duly deſcribed in the following lines of an old romance :—

Quant lavé orent, ſi ſ'aſiſtrent,
Et li ſerjant les napes miſtrent,
Deſus les dobliers blans et biax,
Les ſaliers et les coutiax,
Après lou pain, puis lo vin
Et copes d'argent et d'or fin.

Spoons were alſo uſually placed on the table, but there were no forks, the gueſts uſing their fingers inſtead, which was the reaſon they were ſo particular in waſhing before and after meat. The tables being thus arranged, it remained for the cooks to ſerve up the various prepared diſhes.

At table the gueſts were not only placed in couples, but they alſo eat in couples, two being ſerved with the ſame food and in the ſame plate. This practice is frequently alluded to in the early romances and fabliaux. In general the arrangement of the couples was not left to mere chance, but individuals who were known to be attached to each other, or who were near relatives, were placed together. In the poem of La Mule ſanz Frain, the lady of the caſtle makes Sir Gawain ſit by her ſide, and eat out of the ſame plate with her, as an act of friendly courteſy. In the fabliau of Trubert, a woman, taken into the houſehold of a duke, is ſeated at table beſide the duke's daughter, and eats out of the ſame plate with her,

her, becauſe the young lady had conceived an affectionate feeling for the viſitor. So, again, in the ſtory of the provoſt of Aquilée, the provoſt's lady, receiving a viſitor ſent by her huſband (who was abſent), placed him at table beſide her, to eat with her, and the reſt of the party were ſimilarly ſeated, "two and two:"—

La dame première ſ'aſſiſt,
Son hoſte lez lui ſeoir fiſt,
Car mengier voloit avec lui;
Li autre furent dui et dui.—Méon Fabliaux, ii. 192.

In one of the ſtories in the early Engliſh Geſta Romanorum, an earl and his ſon, who dine at the emperor's table, are ſeated together, and are ſerved with one plate, a fiſh, between them. The practice was, indeed, ſo general, that the phraſe "to eat in the ſame diſh" (*manger dans la même écuelle*), became proverbial for intimate friendſhip between two perſons.

There was another practice relating to the table which muſt not be overlooked. It muſt have been remarked that, in the illuminations of contemporary manuſcripts which repreſent dinner ſcenes, the gueſts are rarely repreſented as eating on plates. In fact, only certain articles were ſerved in plates. Loaves were made of a ſecondary quality of flour, and theſe were firſt pared, and then cut into thick ſlices, which were called, in French, *tranchoirs*, and, in Engliſh, *trenchers*, becauſe they were to be carved upon. The portions of meat were ſerved to the gueſts on theſe *tranchoirs*, and they cut it upon them as they eat it. The gravy, of courſe, went into the bread, which the gueſt ſometimes, perhaps always at an earlier period, eat after the meat, but in later times, and at the tables of the great, it appears to have been more frequently ſent away to the alms-baſket, from which the leavings of the table were diſtributed to the poor at the gate. All the bread uſed at table ſeems to have been pared, before it was cut, and the parings were thrown into the alms-diſh. Walter de Bibbleſworth, in the latter part of the thirteenth century, among other directions for the laying out of the table, ſays, "Cut the bread which is pared, and let the parings be given to the alms"—

Tayllet le payn ke eſt parée,
Les biſeaus à l'amoyne ſoyt doné.

The

The practice is alluded to in the romance of Sir Triſtrem (fytte i. ſt. 1.)—

The kyng no ſeyd no more,
Bot weſche and yede (went) *to mete;*
Bred thai pard and ſchare (cut),
Ynough thai hadde at ete.

It was the duty of the almoner to ſay grace. The following directions are given in the Boke of Curtaſye (p. 30):—

The aumenere by this hathe ſayde grace,
And the almeſ-dyſſhe haſe ſett in place;
Therin the karver a loſe ſchalle ſette,
To ſerve God fyrſt withouten lette;
Theſe othere loſes he parys aboute,
Lays hit myd (with) *dyſſhe, withouten doute.*

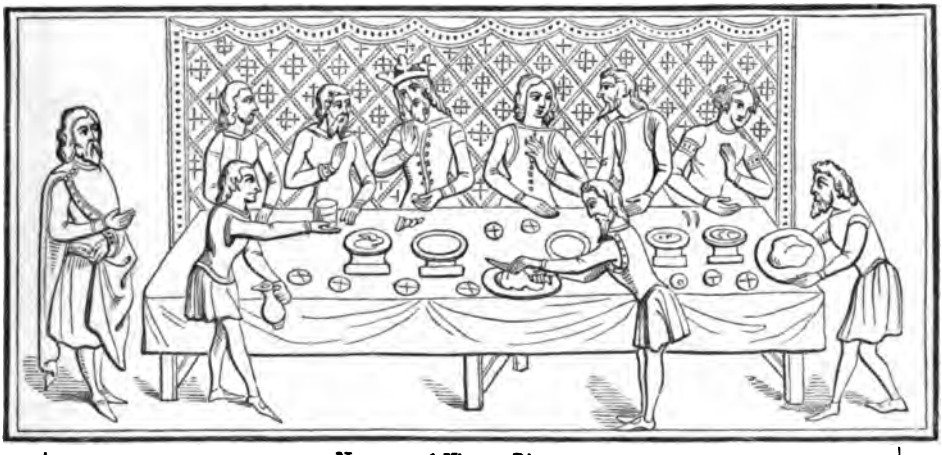
The uſe of the *tranchoir,* which Froiſſart calls a *tailloir,* is not unfrequently alluded to in the older French writers. That writer tells the

No. 110. *A Dinner Scene.*

ſtory of a prince who, having received poiſon in a powder, and ſuſpecting it, put it on a *tailloir* of bread, and thus gave it to a dog to eat. One of the French poets of the fifteenth century, Martial de Paris, ſpeaking againſt the extravagant tables kept by the biſhops at that time, exclaims, "Alas! what have the poor? They have only the tranchoirs of bread which

which remain on the table." An ordinance of the dauphin Humbert II., of the date of 1336, orders that there ſhould be ſerved to him at table every day "loaves of white bread for the mouth, and four ſmall loaves to ſerve for tranchoirs" (*pro inciſorio faciendo*). For great people, a ſilver platter was often put under the tranchoir, and it was probable from the extenſion of that practice that the tranchoirs became ultimately abandoned, and the platters took their place.

We give three examples of dinner-ſcenes, from manuſcripts of the fourteenth century. The firſt, cut No. 110 (on the laſt page), is taken from a manuſcript belonging to the National Library in Paris, No. 7210, containing

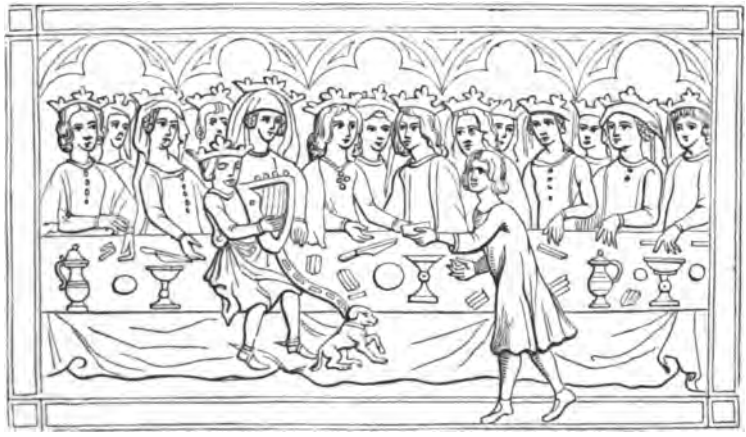


No. 111. *A King at Dinner.*

the "Pélerinage de la Vie Humaine." The party are eating fiſh, or rather have been eating them, for the bones and remnants are ſtrewed over the table. We have, in addition to theſe, the bread, knives, ſalt-cellars, and cups; and on the ground a remarkable collection of jugs for holding the liquors. Our ſecond example, cut No. 111, is taken from an illuminated manuſcript of the romance of Meliadus, preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum (Additional MS., No. 12,228). We have here the curtain or tapeſtry hung behind the ſingle table. The man to the left is probably the ſteward, or the ſuperior of the hall; next to him is the cup-bearer ſerving the

the liquor; further to the right we have the carver cutting the meat; and laſt of all the cook bringing in another diſh. The table is laid much in the ſame manner in our third example, cut No. 112. We have again the cups and the bread, the latter in round cakes; in our ſecond example they are marked with croſſes, as in the Anglo-Saxon illuminations; but there are no forks, or even ſpoons, which, of courſe, were uſed for pottage and ſoups, and were perhaps brought on and taken off with them. All the gueſts ſeem to be ready to uſe their fingers.

There was much formality and ceremony obſerved in filling and preſenting the cup, and it required long inſtruction to make the young cup-



No. 112. *A Royal Feaſt.*

bearer perfect in his duties. In our cut No. 111, it will be obſerved that the carver holds the meat with his fingers while he cuts it. This is in exact accordance with the rules given in the ancient "Boke of Kervyng," where this officer is told, "Set never on fyſhe, fleſche, beeſt, ne fowle, more than two fyngers and a thombe." It will be obſerved alſo that in none of theſe pictures have the gueſts any plates; they ſeem to have eaten with their hands, and thrown the refuſe on the table. We know alſo that they often threw the fragments on the floor, where they were eaten up by cats and dogs, which were admitted into the hall without

reſtriction of number. In the "Boke of Curtaſye," already mentioned, it is blamed as a mark of bad breeding to play with the cats and dogs while ſeated at table—

Whereſo thou ſitt at mete in borde (at table),
Avoide the cat at on bare worde,
For yf thou ſtroke cat other dogge,
Thou art lyke an ape teyghed with a clogge.

Some of theſe directions for behaviour are very droll, and ſhow no great refinement of manners. A gueſt at table is recommended to keep his nails clean, for fear his fellow next him ſhould be diſguſted—

Loke thy naylys ben clene in blythe,
Leſt thy felaghe lothe therwyth.

He is cautioned againſt ſpitting on the table—

If thou ſpit on the borde or elles opone,
Thou ſhalle be holden an uncurtayſe mon.

When he blows his noſe with his hand (handkerchieſs were not, it appears, in uſe), he is told to wipe his hand on his ſkirt or on his tippet—

Yf thy noſe thou clenſe, as may befalle,
Loke thy honde thou clenſe withalle,
Prively with ſkyrt do hit away,
Or ellis thurgh thi tepet that is ſo gay.

He is not to pick his teeth with his knife, or with a ſtraw or ſtick, nor to clean them with the table-cloth; and, if he ſits by a gentleman, he is to take care he does not put his knee under the other's thigh!

The cleanlineſs of the white table-cloth ſeems to have been a matter of pride; and to judge by the illuminations great care ſeems to have been taken to place it neatly and ſmoothly on the table, and to arrange taſtefully the part which hung down at the ſides. Generally ſpeaking, the ſervice on the table in theſe illuminations appears to be very ſimple, conſiſting of the cups, ſtands for the diſhes of meat (meſſes, as they were called) brought by the cook, the knives, ſometimes ſpoons for ſoup and liquids, and bread. Oſtentatious ornament is not often introduced, and

it

it was perhaps only uſed at the tables of princes and of the more powerful nobles. Of theſe ornaments, one of the moſt remarkable was the nef, or ſhip—a veſſel, generally of ſilver, which contained the ſalt-cellar, towel, &c., of the prince, or great lord, on whoſe table it was brought with great ceremony. It was in the form of a ſhip, raiſed on a ſtand, and on one end it had ſome figure, ſuch as a ſerpent, or caſtle, perhaps an emblem or badge choſen by its poſſeſſor. Our cut No. 113, taken from a manuſcript in the French National Library, repreſents the nef placed on the table. The badge or emblem at the end appears to be a bird.

No. 113. *The Nef.*

Our forefathers ſeem to have remained a tolerably long time at table, the pleaſures of which were by no means deſpiſed. Indeed, to judge by the ſermons and ſatires of the middle ages, gluttony ſeems to have been a very prevalent vice among the clergy as well as the laity; and however miſerably the lower claſſes lived, the tables of the rich were loaded with every delicacy that could be procured. The monks were proverbially *bons vivants;* and their failings in this reſpect are not unfrequently ſatiriſed in the illuminated ornaments of the mediæval manuſcripts. We have an example in our cut No. 114, taken from a manuſcript of the fourteenth century in the Arundel Collection in the Britiſh Muſeum (No. 91); a monk is regaling himſelf on the ſly, apparently upon dainty tarts or patties, while the diſh is held up by a little cloven-footed imp who ſeems to enjoy the ſpirit of the thing, quite as much as the other enjoys the ſubſtance. Our next cut (No. 115) is taken from another manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum of the ſame date (MS. Sloane, No. 2435), and forms an appropriate companion

No. 114. *Gluttony.*

panion to the other. The monk here holds the office of cellarer, and is taking advantage of it to conſole himſelf on the ſly.

When the laſt courſe of the dinner had been ſerved, the ewer and his companion again carried round the water and towel, and each gueſt waſhed. The tables were then cleared and the cloths withdrawn, but the drinking continued. The minſtrels were now introduced. To judge by the illuminations, the moſt common muſical attendant on ſuch occaſions was a harper, who repeated romances and told ſtories, accompanying them with his inſtrument. In one of our cuts of a dinner party (No. 112), given in a former page, we ſee the harper, apparently a blind man, led by his dog, introduced into the hall while the gueſts are ſtill occupied with their repaſt. We frequently find a harper thus introduced, who is ſometimes repreſented as ſitting upon the floor, as in the accompanying illuſtration (No. 116) from the MS. Reg. 2 B. vii. fol. 71, v°. Another ſimilar repreſentation occurs at folio 203, v° of the ſame MS.

No. 115. *Monaſtic Devotions.*

No. 116. *The Harper in the Hall.*

The barons and knights themſelves, and their ladies, did not diſdain to learn the harper's craft; and Gower, in his "Confeſſio Amantis," deſcribes a ſcene in which a princeſs plays the harp at table. Appolinus is

is dining in the hall of king Pentapolin, with the king and queen and their fair daughter, and all his lords, when, reminded by the ſcene of the royal eſtate from which he is fallen, he ſorrowed and took no meat; therefore the king, ſympathiſing with him, bade his daughter take her harp and do all that ſhe could to enliven that "ſorry man:"—

And ſhe to don her faderes heſte,
Her harpe fette, and in the feſte
Upon a chaire which thei fette,
Her ſelve next to this man ſhe ſette.

Appolinus in turn takes the harp, and proves himſelf a wonderful proficient, and

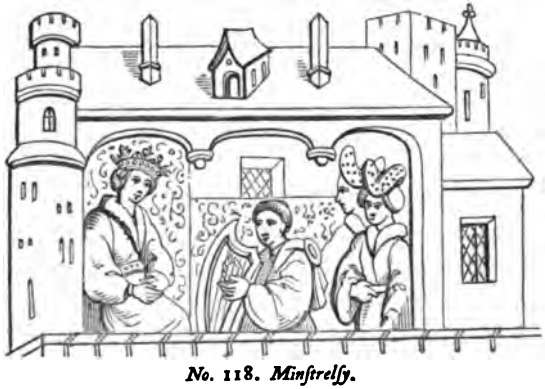
When he hath harped alle his fille,
The kingis heſt to fulfille,
Awaie goth diſhe, awaie goth cup,
Doun goth the borde, the cloth was up,
Thei riſen and gone out of the halle.

The minſtrels, or jougleurs, formed a very important claſs of ſociety in the middle ages, and no feſtival was conſidered as complete without their preſence. They travelled ſingly or in parties, not only from houſe to houſe, but from country to country, and they generally brought with them, to amuſe and pleaſe their hearers, the laſt new ſong, or the laſt new tale. When any great feſtival was announced, there was ſure to be a general gathering of minſtrels from all quarters, and as they poſſeſſed many methods of entertaining, for they joined the profeſſion of mountebank, poſture-maſter, and conjurer with that of muſic and ſtory-telling, they were always welcome. No ſooner, therefore, was the buſineſs of eating done, than the jougleur or jougleurs were brought forward, and ſometimes, when the gueſts were in a more ſerious humour, they chanted the old romances of chivalry; at other times they repeated ſatirical poems, or party ſongs, according to the feelings or humour of thoſe who were liſtening to them, or told love tales or ſcandalous anecdotes, or drolleries, accompanying them with acting, and intermingling them with performances of various kinds. The hall was proverbially the place for mirth, and as merriment of a coarſe deſcription ſuited the mediæval taſte, the ſtories and performances of the jougleurs were often of an obſcene character,

racter, even in the preſence of the ladies. In the illuminated manuſcripts, the minſtrel is moſt commonly a harper, perhaps becauſe theſe illuminations are uſually found in the old romances of chivalry where the harper generally acts an important part, for the minſtrels were not unfrequently employed in meſſages and intrigues. In general the harp is wrapped in ſome ſort of drapery, as repreſented in our cut No. 117, taken from a MS. in the National Library of Paris, which was perhaps the bag in which the minſtrel carried it, and may have been attached to the bottom of the inſtrument. The accompanying ſcene of minſtrelſy is taken from a manuſcript of the romance of Guyron le Courtois in the French National Library, No. 6976.

No. 117. *A Harper.*

The dinner was always accompanied by muſic, and itinerant minſtrels, mountebanks, and performers of all deſcriptions, were allowed free acceſs to the hall to amuſe the gueſts by their performances. Theſe were intermixed with dancing and tumbling, and



No. 118. *Minſtrelſy.*

often with exhibitions of a very groſs character, which, however, amid the looſeneſs of mediæval manners, appear to have excited no diſguſt. Theſe practices are curiouſly illuſtrated in ſome of the mediæval illuminations.

minations. In the account of the death of John the Baptiſt, as given in the goſpels (Matthew xiv. 6, and Mark vi. 21), we are told, that at the feaſt given by Herod on his birthday, his daughter Herodias came into the feaſting-hall, and (according to our Engliſh verſion) danced before him and his gueſts. The Latin vulgate has *ſaltaſſet*, which is equivalent to the Engliſh word; but the mediæval writers took the lady's performances to be thoſe of a regular wandering jougleur; and in two illuminated manuſcripts of the early part of the fourteenth century, in the Britiſh Muſeum, ſhe is pictured as performing tricks very ſimilar to

No. 119. *King Herod and his Daughter Herodias.*

thoſe exhibited by the modern beggar-boys in our ſtreets. In the firſt of theſe (No. 119), taken from MS. Reg. 2 B. vii., the princeſs is ſupporting herſelf upon her hands with her legs in the air, to the evident admiration of the king, though the gueſts ſeem to be paying leſs attention to her feats of activity. In the ſecond (No. 120), from the Harleian MS. No. 1527, ſhe is repreſented in a ſimilar poſition, but more evidently making a ſomerſault. She is here accompanied by a female attendant, who expreſſes no leſs delight at her ſkill than the king and his gueſts.

It

It would appear from various accounts that it was not, unleſs perhaps at an early period, the cuſtom in France to ſit long after dinner at table drinking wine, as it certainly was in England, where, no doubt, the practice was derived from the Anglo-Saxons. Numerous alluſions might be pointed out, which ſhow how much our Anglo-Saxon forefathers were addicted to this practice of ſitting in their halls and drinking during the latter part of their day; and it was then that they liſtened to the minſtrel's ſong, told ſtories of their own feats and adventures, and made proof of their powers in hard drinking. From ſome of theſe alluſions,

No. 120. *Herod and Herodias.*

which we have quoted in an earlier chapter, it is equally clear, that theſe drinking-bouts often ended in ſanguinary, and not unfrequently in fatal, brawls. Such ſcenes of diſcord in the hall occur alſo in the early French metrical romances, but they take place uſually at the beginning of dinner, when the gueſts are taking their places, or during the meal. In "Pariſe la Ducheſſe," a ſcene of this deſcription occurs, in which the great feudal barons and knights fight with the proviſions which had been ſerved at the tables: "There," ſays the poet, "you might ſee them throw cheeſes, and quartern-loaves, and great pieces of fleſh, and great ſteel knives"—

Là veiſſiez jeter fromages et cartiers,
Et granz pieces de char, et granz cotiaux d'acier—Roman de Pariſe, p. 173.

In

In "Garin le Loherain" (vol. ii. p. 17), at a feaſt at which the emperor and his empreſs were preſent, a fight commences between the two great baronial parties who were their gueſts, by a chief of one party ſtriking one of the other party with a goblet; the cooks are brought out of the kitchen to take part in it, with their peſtles, ladles, and pot-hooks, led by duke Begon, who had ſeized a ſpit, full of birds, as the weapon which came firſt to hand; and the conteſt is not appeaſed until many are killed and wounded.

The preceding remarks, of courſe, apply chiefly to the tables of the prince, the noble, and the wealthy gentleman, where alone this degree of profuſion and of ceremony reigned; and to thoſe of the monaſtic houſes and of the higher clergy, where, if poſſible, the luxury even of princes was overpaſſed. The examples of clerical and monaſtic extravagance in feaſting are ſo numerous, that I will not venture on this occaſion to enter upon them any further. All recorded facts would lead us to conclude, that the ordinary courſe of living of the monks was much more luxurious than that of the clerical lords of the land, who, indeed, ſeem to have lived, on ordinary occaſions, with ſome degree of ſimplicity, except that the great number of people who dined at their expenſe, required a very large quantity of proviſions. Even men of rank, when dining alone, or haſtily, are deſcribed as being ſatisfied with a very limited variety of food. In the romance of "Garin," when Rigaud, one of the barons of "Garin's" party, arrives at court with important news, and very hungry, the empreſs orders him to be ſerved with a large veſſel of wine (explained by a various reading to be equivalent to a pot), four loaves (the loaves appear uſually to have been ſmall), and a roaſted peacock—

> *On li aporte plain un barris de vin,*
> *Et quatre pains, et un paon roſti.*—Garin le Loherain, vol. ii. p. 257.

In a pane of painted glaſs in the poſſeſſion of Dr. Henry Johnſon, of Shrewſbury, of Flemiſh workmanſhip of about the beginning of the ſixteenth century, and repreſenting the ſtory of the Prodigal Son, the Prodigal is ſeated at table with a party of diſſolute women, feaſting upon a paſty. It is reproduced in our cut No. 121. They appear to have

only one drinking-cup among them, but the wine is ſerved from a very rich goblet. We cannot, however, always judge the character of a feaſt by the articles placed on the table by the mediæval illuminators, for they were in the conſtant habit of drawing things conventionally, and they ſeem to have found a difficulty—perhaps in conſequence of their ignorance

No. 121. *Feaſting on a Paſty.*

of perſpective—in repreſenting a crowded table. Our cut No. 122, on the following page, taken from MS. Reg. 10 E. iv., in which we recognize again our old friend the holy-water clerc, repreſents a table which is certainly very ſparingly furniſhed, although the perſons ſeated at it ſeem to belong to a reſpectable claſs in ſociety. Some cooked articles, perhaps meat, on a ſtand, bread, a ſingle knife to cut the proviſions, and one pot, probably of ale, from which they ſeem to have drunk without the intervention of a glaſs, form the whole ſervice.

We find alluſions from time to time to the ſtyle of living of the claſs in the country anſwering to our yeomanry, and of the *bourgeoiſie* in the towns, which appears to have been ſufficiently plain. In the romance of "Berte" (p. 78), when Berte finds ſhelter at the houſe of the farmer Symon,

Symon, they give her, for refreſhment, a chicken and wine. In the fabliau of the "*Vilain mire*" (Barbazan, vol. iii. p. 3), the farmer, who had ſaved money, and become tolerably rich, had no ſuch luxuries as

No. 122. *A Dinner tête-à-tête.*

ſalmon or partridge, but his proviſions conſiſted only of bread and wine, and fried eggs, and cheeſe in abundance—

N'orent pas ſaumon ne pertris,
Pain et vin orent, et oés fris,
Et du fromage à grant plenté.

The franklin, in Chaucer, is put forward as an example of great liberality in the articles of proviſions:—

An houſeholdere, and that a gret, was he,
Seynt Julian he was in his countré,
His breed, his ale, was alway after oon;
A bettre envyned man was nowher noon.
Withoute bake mete was never his hous,
Of fleiſſch and fiſſch, and that ſo plentyvous,
It ſnewed in his hous of mete and drynke,
Of alle deyntees that men cowde thynke.
Aftur the ſondry ſeſouns of the yeer,
He chaunged hem at mete and at ſoper.
Ful many a fat partrich had he in mewe,
And many a brem and many a luce in ſtewe (fish pond),

Woo

Woo was his cook, but if his ſauce were
Poynant and ſcharp, and redy al his gere;
His table dormant in his halle alway
Stood redy covered al the longe day.—Chaucer's Cant. Tales, l. 341.

A ſtory in the celebrated collection of the Cent. Nouvelles Nouvelles (Nouv. 83), compoſed ſoon after the middle of the fifteenth century, gives us ſome notion of the ſtore of proviſions in the houſe of an ordinary burgher. A worthy and pious *demoiſelle*—that is, a woman of the reſpectable claſs of *bourgeoiſie*, who was, in this caſe, a widow—invited a monk to dine with her, out of charity. They dined without other company, and were ſerved by a *chambrière* or maid-ſervant, and a man-ſervant or valet. The courſe of meat, which was firſt placed on the table, conſiſted of *porée*, or ſoup, bacon, pork tripes, and a roaſted ox's tongue. But the demoiſelle had miſcalculated the voracity of her gueſt, for, before ſhe had made much progreſs in her *porée*, he had devoured everything on the table, and left nothing but empty diſhes. On ſeeing this, his hoſteſs ordered her ſervants to put on the table a piece of good ſalt beef, and a large piece of choice mutton; but he ate theſe alſo, to her no little aſtoniſhment, and ſhe was obliged to ſend for a fine ham, which had been cooked the day before, and which appears to have been all the meat left in the houſe. The monk devoured this, and left nothing but the bone. The courſe which would have followed the firſt ſervice was then laid on the table, conſiſting of a "very fine fat cheeſe," and a diſh well furniſhed with tarts, apples, and cheeſe, which alſo quickly followed the meat. It appears from this ſtory that the ordinary dinner of a reſpectable burgher conſiſted of a ſoup, and two or three plain diſhes of meat, followed by cheeſe, paſtry, and fruit. An illumination, illuſtrative of another tale in this collection, in the unique manuſcript preſerved in the Hunterian Library, at Glaſgow, and copied in the annexed cut (No. 123), repreſents a dinner-table of an ordinary perſon of this claſs of ſociety, which is not over largely furniſhed. We ſee only bread in the middle, what appears to be intended for a ham at one end, and at the other a diſh, perhaps of cakes or tarts. The lower claſſes lived, of courſe, much more meanly than the others; but we have fewer alluſions to them in the

the earlier mediæval literature, as they were looked upon as a claſs hardly worth deſcribing. This claſs was, no doubt, much more miſerable in France than in England. A French moral poem of the fourteenth

No. 123. *A Frugal Repaſt.*

century, entitled "*Le Chemin de Pauvreté et de Richeſſe,*" repreſents the poor labourers as having no other food than bread, garlic, and ſalt, with water to drink :—

N'y ot ſi grant ne ſi petit
Qui ne preiſt grant appetit
En pain ſec, en aux, et en ſel,
Ne il ne mengoit riens en el,
Mouton, bueſ, oye, ne poucin ;
Et puis prenoient le bacin,
A deux mains, plain d'eaue, et buvoient.

As I have ſaid, the dreſſer (*dreſſoir*) or cupboard was the only important article of furniture in the hall, beſides the tables and benches. It was a mere cupboard for the plate, and had generally ſteps to enable the ſervants to reach the articles that were placed high up in it, but it is rarely repreſented in pictured manuſcripts before the fifteenth century, when the illuminators began to introduce more detail into their works. The

The reader may form a notion of its contents, from the liſt of the ſervice of plate given by Edward I. of England to his daughter Margaret, after her marriage with the duke of Brabant; it conſiſted of forty-ſix ſilver cups with feet, for drinking; ſix wine pitchers, four ewers for water, four baſins with gilt eſcutcheons, ſix great ſilver diſhes for entremets; one hundred and twenty ſmaller diſhes; a hundred and twenty ſalts; one gilt ſalt, for her own uſe; ſeventy-two ſpoons; and three ſilver ſpice-plates with a ſpice-ſpoon.

The dreſſer, as well as all the furniture of the hall, was in the care of the groom; it was his buſineſs to lay them out, and to take them away again. It appears to have been the uſual cuſtom to take away the boards and treſſels (forming the tables) at the ſame time as the cloth. The company remained ſeated on the benches, and the drinking-cups were handed round to them. So tells us the "Boke of Curtaſye"—

Whenne they have waſſhen, and grace is ſayde,
Away he takes at a brayde (at once),
Avoydes the borde into the flore,
Taſe away the treſtles that been ſo ſtore.

CHAPTER IX.

THE MINSTREL.—HIS POSITION UNDER THE ANGLO-SAXONS.—THE NORMAN TROUVERE, MENESTREL, AND JOUGLEUR.—THEIR CONDITION.—RUTEBEUF.—DIFFERENT MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN USE AMONG THE MINSTRELS.—THE BEVERLEY MINSTRELS.

THE minſtrel acted ſo very prominent a part in the houſehold and domeſtic arrangements during the middle ages, that a volume on the hiſtory of domeſtic manners would be incomplete without ſome more detailed account of his profeſſion than the ſlight and occaſional notices given in the preceding pages.

Our information relating to the Anglo-Saxon minſtrel is very imperfect. He had two names—*ſcop*, which meant literally a "maker," and belonged probably to the primitive bard or poet; and *glig-man*, or *gleoman*, the modern gleeman, which ſignifies literally a man who furniſhed joy or pleaſure, and appears to have had a more comprehenſive application, which included all profeſſional performers for other people's amuſement. In Beowulf (l. 180), the "ſong of the bard" (*ſang ſcopes*) is accompanied by the ſound of the harp (*hearpan ſwég*); and it is probable that the harp was the ſpecial inſtrument of the old Saxon bard, who chanted the mythic and heroic poems of the race. The gleemen played on a variety of inſtruments, and they alſo exhibited a variety of other performances for the amuſement of the hearers or ſpectators. In our engraving from an Anglo-Saxon illumination (p. 37), one of the gleemen is toſſing knives and balls, which ſeems to have been conſidered a favourite exhibition of ſkill down to a much later period. The early Engliſh Rule of Nuns (printed by the Camden Society) ſays of the wrathful man, that "he ſkirmiſhes before the devil with knives, and he is his knife-toſſer, and plays with ſwords, and balances them upon his tongue

tongue by the ſharp point." In the Life of Hereward, the gleeman (whoſe name is there tranſlated by *joculator*) is repreſented as conciliating the favour of the new Norman lords by mimicking the unrefined manners of the Saxons, and throwing upon them indecent jeſts and reproaches. But, in the later Anglo-Saxon period at leaſt, the words *ſcop* and *gleóman* appear to have been conſidered as equivalent; for, in another hall-ſcene in Beowulf, where the ſcop performs his craft, we are told that—

Leoð wæs aſungen,	*The lay was ſung,*
gleómannes gyd,	*the gleeman's recital,*
gamen eft aſtáh,	*paſtime began again,*
beorhtode benc-ſwég.	*the bench-noiſe became loud.*—Beowulf, l. 2323.

There is here evidently an intimation of merrier ſongs than thoſe ſung by the *ſcop*, and whatever his performances were, they drew a louder welcome. And in a fragment of another romance which has come down to us, the gleeman Widſeth bears witneſs to the wandering character of his claſs, and enumerates in a long liſt the various courts of different chiefs and peoples which he had viſited. We learn, alſo, that among the Anglo-Saxons there were gleemen attached to the courts or houſeholds of the kings and great chieftains. Under Edward the Confeſſor, as we learn from the Domeſday Survey, Berdic, the king's *joculator*, poſſeſſed three villas in Glouceſterſhire.

On the continent, when we firſt become acquainted with the hiſtory of the popular literature, we find the minſtrels, the repreſentatives of the ancient bards, appearing as the compoſers and chanters of the poems which told the ſtories of the old heroes of romance, and they ſeem alſo to have been accompanied uſually with the harp, or with ſome other ſtringed inſtrument. They ſpeak of themſelves, in theſe poems, as wandering about from caſtle to caſtle, wherever any feaſting was going on, as being everywhere welcome, and as depending upon the liberality either of the lord of the feaſt, or of the gueſts, for their living. Occaſional complaints would lead us to ſuppoſe that this liberality was not always great, and the poems themſelves contain formules of begging appeals, which are not very dignified or delicate. Thus, in the romance of "Gui de Bourgogne," the minſtrel interrupts his narrative, to inform his hearers

hearers that "Whoever wiſhes to hear any more of this poem, muſt make haſte to open his purſe, for it is now high time that he give me ſomething"—

Qui or voldra chançon oïr et eſcouter,
Si voiſt iſnelement ſa bourſſe deſfermer,
Qu'il eſt kui mès bien tans qu'il me doie doner.—Gui de Bourgogne, l. 4136.

In like manner, in the romance of "Huon de Bordeaux," the minſtrel, after having recited nearly five thouſand lines, makes his excuſe for diſcontinuing until another day. He reminds his auditors that it is near veſpers, and that he is weary, and invites them to return next day after dinner, begging each of them to bring with him a *maille*, or halfpenny, and complaining of the meanneſs of thoſe who were accuſtomed to give ſo ſmall a coin as the *poitivine* "to the courteous minſtrel." The minſtrel ſeems to have calculated that this hint might not be ſufficient, and that they would require being reminded of it, for, after ſome two or three hundred lines of the next day's recital, he introduces another formule of appeal to the purſes of his hearers. "Take notice," he goes on to ſay, "as may God give me health, I will immediately put a ſtop to my ſong; . . . . and I at once excommunicate all thoſe who ſhall not viſit their purſes in order to give ſomething to my wife"—

Mais faciés bien, ſe Dix me doinſt ſanté,
Ma cançon toſt vous ferai deſiner;
Tous chiaus eſcumenie, . . .
. . . . . .
Qui n'iront à lour bourſes pour ma feme donner.—Huon de Bordeaux, l. 5482.

Theſe minſtrels, too, diſplay great jealouſy of one another, and eſpecially of what they term the new minſtrels, exclaiming againſt the decadence of the profeſſion.

It would appear, indeed, that theſe French minſtrels, the poets by profeſſion, who now become known to us by the name of *trouvères*, or inventors (in the language of the ſouth of France, *trobadors*), held a poſition towards the *jougleurs*, or *jogleurs** (from the Latin *joculatores*,

* The old literary antiquaries, through miſtaking the *u* of the manuſcripts for an *n*, and not attending to the derivation, have created a meaningleſs word—*jongleur*—which never exiſted, and ought now to be entirely abandoned.

and this again from *jocus*, game), which the Anglo-Saxon *ſcop* held towards the gleeman. Though the maſs of the minſtrels did get their living as itinerant ſongſters, they might be reſpectable, and ſometimes there was a man of high rank who became a minſtrel for his pleaſure; but the jougleurs, as a body, belonged to the loweſt and moſt degraded claſs of mediæval ſociety, that of the ribalds or letchers, and the more reſpectable minſtrels of former days were probably falling gradually into their ranks. It was the claſs which abandoned itſelf without reſerve to the mere amuſement and pleaſure of the ariſtocracy, and it ſeems to have been greatly increaſed by the Cruſades, when the jougleurs of the weſt were brought into relations with thoſe of the eaſt, and learnt a multitude of new ways of exciting attention and making mirth, of which they were previouſly ignorant. The jougleurs had now become, in addition to their older accompliſhments, magicians and conjurers, and wonderfully ſkilled in every deſcription of ſleight of hand, and it is from theſe qualities that we have derived the modern ſignification of the word *juggler*. They had alſo adopted the profeſſion of the eaſtern ſtory-tellers, as well as their ſtories, which, however, they turned into verſe; and they brought into the weſt many other exhibitions which did not tend to raiſe the ſtandard of weſtern morals.

The character of the minſtrels, or jougleurs, their wandering life, and the eaſe with which they were admitted everywhere, cauſed them to be employed extenſively as ſpies, and as bearers of ſecret news, and led people to adopt the diſguiſe of a minſtrel, as one which enabled them to paſs through difficulties unobſerved and unchallenged. In the ſtory of Euſtace the monk, when Euſtace ſought to eſcape from England, to avoid the purſuit of king John, he took a fiddle and a bow (a fiddleſtick), and dreſſed himſelf as a minſtrel, and in this garb he arrived at the coaſt, and, finding a merchant ready to ſail, entered the ſhip with him. But the ſteerſman, who did not recogniſe the minſtrel as one of the paſſengers, ordered him out. Euſtace expoſtulated, repreſented that he was a minſtrel, and, after ſome diſpute, the ſteerſman, who ſeems to have had ſome ſuſpicions either of his diſguiſe or of his ſkill, concluded by putting the queſtion, "At all events, if thou knoweſt any ſong, friend, let us have it."

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The monk was not ſkilled in ſinging, but he replied boldly, "Know I one? Yea! of Agoulant, and Aymon, or of Blonchadin, or of Florence of Rome (theſe were all early metrical romances); there is not a ſong in the whole world but I know it. I ſhould be delighted, no doubt, to afford you amuſement; but, in truth, the ſea frightens me ſo much at preſent, that I could not ſing a ſong worth hearing." He was allowed to paſs. Some of thoſe who adopted the diſguiſe of the jougleur were better able to ſuſtain it, and minſtrelſy became conſidered as a polite accompliſhment, perhaps partly on account of its utility. There is, in the hiſtory of the Fitz-Warines, a remarkable character of this deſcription named John de Raunpaygne. Fulke Fitz-Warine had formed a deſign againſt his great enemy, Moris Fitz-Roger, and he eſtabliſhed himſelf, with his fellow outlaws, in the foreſt near Whittington, in Shropſhire, to watch him. Fulke then called to him John de Raunpaygne. "John," ſaid he, "you know enough of minſtrelſy and joglery; dare you go to Whittington, and play before Moris Fitz-Roger, and ſpy how things are going on?" "Yea," ſaid John. He cruſhed a herb, and put it in his mouth, and his face began immediately to ſwell, and became ſo diſcoloured, that his own companions hardly knew him; and he dreſſed himſelf in poor clothes, and "took his box with his inſtruments of joglery and a great ſtaff in his hand;" and thus he went to Whittington, and preſented himſelf at the caſtle, and ſaid that he was a jogeleur. The porter carried him to Sir Moris, who received him well, inquired in the firſt place for news, and receiving intelligence which pleaſed him (it was deſignedly falſe), he gave the minſtrel a valuable ſilver cup as a reward. Now, "John de Raunpaygne was very ill-favoured in face and body, and on this account the ribalds of the houſehold made game of him, and treated him roughly, and pulled him by his hair and by his feet. John raiſed his ſtaff, and ſtruck a ribald on the head, that his brain flew into the middle of the place. 'Wretched ribald,' ſaid the lord, 'what haſt thou done?' 'Sir,' ſaid he, 'for God's mercy, I cannot help it; I have a diſeaſe which is very grievous, which you may ſee by my ſwollen face. And this diſeaſe takes entire poſſeſſion of me at certain hours of the day, when I have no power to govern myſelf.' Moris ſwore a great oath, that

that if it were not for the news he had brought, he would have his head cut off immediately. The jogeleur haſtened his departure, for the time he remained there ſeemed very long." The reſult of this adventure was the attack upon and ſlaughter of Moris Fitz-Roger by Fulk Fitz-Warine. Some time after this, Fulk Fitz-Warine, having recovered his caſtle of Whittington, was lamenting over the loſs of his friend, Sir Audulf de Bracy, who had fallen into the hands of king John's emiſſaries, and was a priſoner in Shrewſbury caſtle, where king John had come to make his temporary reſidence, and again aſked the aid of John de Raunpaygne, who promiſed to make a viſit to the king. "John de Raunpaygne knew enough of tabor, harp, fiddle, citole, and joglery; and he attired himſelf very richly, like an earl or baron, and he cauſed his hair and all his body to be entirely dyed as black as jet, ſo that nothing was white except his teeth. And he hung round his neck a very handſome tabor, and then, mounting a handſome palfrey, rode through the town of Shrewſbury to the gate of the caſtle; and by many a one was he looked at. John came before the king, and placed himſelf on his knees, and ſaluted the king very courteouſly. The king returned his ſalutation, and aſked him whence he came. 'Sire,' ſaid he, 'I am an Ethiopian minſtrel, born in Ethiopia.' Said the king, 'Are all the people in your land of your colour?' 'Yea, my lord, man and woman.' . . . . John, during the day, made great minſtrelſy of tabor and other inſtruments. When the king was gone to bed, Sir Henry de Audeley ſent for the black minſtrel, and led him into his chamber. And they made great melody; and when Sir Henry had drunk well, then he ſaid to a valet, 'Go and fetch Sir Audulf de Bracy, whom the king will put to death to-morrow; for he ſhall have a good night of it before his death.' The valet ſoon brought Sir Audulf into the chamber. Then they talked and played. John commenced a ſong which Sir Audulf uſed to ſing; Sir Audulf raiſed his head, looked at him full in the face, and with great difficulty recogniſed him. Sir Henry aſked for ſome drink; John was very ſerviceable, jumped nimbly on his feet, and ſerved the cup before them all. John was ſly, he threw a powder into the cup, which nobody perceived, for he was a good jogeleur, and all who drunk became ſo ſleepy that, ſoon after drinking,

drinking, they lay down and fell aſleep. John de Raunpaygne and Sir Audulf de Bracy took the opportunity for making their eſcape. We have here a myſterious intimation of the fact that the minſtrel was employed alſo in dark deeds of poiſoning. Still later on in the ſtory of Fulk Fitz-Warine, the hero himſelf goes to a tournament in France in diſguiſe, and John de Raunpaygne reſumes his old character of a jougleur. "John," ſays the narrative, "was very richly attired, and well mounted, and he had a very rich tabor, and he ſtruck the tabor at the entry to the liſts, that the hills and valleys rebounded, and the horſes became joyful."

All theſe anecdotes reveal to us minſtrels who were perfectly free, and wandered from place to place at will; but there were others who were retained by and in the regular employ of individuals. The king had his minſtrels, and ſo moſt of the barons had their houſehold minſtrels. In one of the mediæval Latin ſtories, current in this country probably as early as the thirteenth century, we are told that a jougleur (*mimus* he is called in the Latin, a word uſed at this time as ſynonymous with *joculator*) preſented himſelf at the gate of a certain lord to enter the hall and eat (for the table in thoſe days was rarely refuſed to a minſtrel), but he was ſtopped by the porter, who aſked him to what lord he was attached, evidently thinking, as was thought ſome three centuries later, that the treatment merited by the ſervant depended on the quality of the maſter. The minſtrel replied that his maſter was God. When the porter communicated this reſponſe to his churliſh lord, or equally churliſh ſteward, they replied that if he had no other lord, he ſhould not be admitted there. When the jougleur heard this, he ſaid that he was the devil's own ſervant; whereupon he was received joyfully, "becauſe he was a good fellow" (*quia bonus ſocius erat*). The records of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries contain many entries of payments to the king's minſtrels, and the names of ſome of them are preſerved. On great feſtivals at the king's court, minſtrels came to ſeek employment from every part of the world which acknowledged the reign of feudaliſm. Four hundred and twenty-ſix minſtrels were preſent at the marriage feſtivities of the princeſs Margaret, daughter of Edward I.; and ſeveral hundred

hundred played before the ſame monarch at the Whitſuntide of 1306. This affluence of minſtrels gave riſe to the practice of building a large muſic-gallery at one end of the mediæval hall, which ſeems to have been introduced in the fourteenth century. At this time minſtrels were ſometimes employed for very ſingular purpoſes, ſuch as for ſoothing the king when undergoing a diſagreeable operation. We learn from the wardrobe accounts that, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Edward I. (A.D. 1297) twenty ſhillings, or about fifteen pounds in modern money, was given to the minſtrel of Sir John Maltravers as a reward for performing before the king while he was bled.

The king's minſtrels, and thoſe of the great lords, were very well paid, but the great maſs of the profeſſion, who depended only on what they obtained in gifts at each particular feaſt, which they recklefſly ſquandered away as ſoon as they got it, lived a hard as it was a vagabond life. The king's minſtrels, in the fourteenth century in England, received from ſixpence to ſevenpence halfpenny a day, that is from ſeven ſhillings and ſixpence to nine ſhillings and fourpence halfpenny, during the whole year. On the other hand, Colin Muſet, one of the beſt of the French ſong-writers of the thirteenth century, complains of the want of liberality ſhown to him by the great baron before whom he had played on the viol in his hoſtel, and who had given him nothing, not even his wages:—

Sire quens, j'ai vielé
Devant vos en voſtre oſtel;
Si ne m'avez riens donné,
Ne mes gages acquiter.

And he laments that he is obliged to go home in poverty, becauſe his wife always received him ill when he returned to her with an empty purſe, whereas, when he carried back his *malle* well ſtuffed, he was covered with careſſes by his whole family. The French poet Rutebeuf, whoſe works have been collected and publiſhed by M. Jubinal, may be conſidered as the type of the better claſs of minſtrels at this period, and he has become an object of eſpecial intereſt to us in conſequence of the number of his ſhorter effuſions which deſcribe his own poſition in life.

The

The firſt piece in the collection has for its ſubject his own poverty. He complains of being reduced to ſuch diſtreſs, that he had been obliged for ſome time to live upon the generoſity of his friends; that people no longer ſhowed any liberality to poor minſtrels; that he was periſhing with cold and hunger; and that he had no other bed but the bare ſtraw. In another poem, entitled Rutebeuf's Marriage, he informs us that his privations were made more painful by the circumſtance of his having a ſhrew for his wife. In a third he laments over the loſs of the ſight of his right eye, and informs us that, among other misfortunes, his wife had juſt been delivered of a child, and his horſe had broke its leg, ſo that, while he had no means of ſupporting a nurſe for the former, the latter accident had deprived him of the power of going to any diſtance to exerciſe his minſtrelſy craft. Rutebeuf repeats his laments on his extreme poverty in ſeveral other pieces, and they have an echo in thoſe of other minſtrels of his age. We find, in fact, in the verſe-writers of the latter half of the thirteenth century, and in ſome of thoſe of the fourteenth, a general complaint of the neglect of the minſtrels, and of the degeneracy of minſtrelſy. In a poem againſt the growing taſte for the tabor, printed in M. Jubinal's volume, entitled "Jougleurs et Trouvères," the low ſtate into which the minſtrels' art had fallen is aſcribed to a growing love for inſtruments of an undignified character, ſuch as the tabor, which is ſaid to have been brought to us from the Arabs, and the pipe. If an ignorant ſhepherd from the field, ſays the writer of this poem, but play on the tabor and pipe, he becomes more popular than the man who plays on the viol ever ſo well—

Quar ſ'uns bergiers de chans tabore et chalemele,
Plus toſt eſt apelé que cil qui bien viele.

Everybody followed the tabor, he ſays, and the good minſtrels were no longer in vogue, though their fiddles were ſo much ſuperior to the flutes, and flajolets (*flajols*), and tabors of the others. He conſoles himſelf, however, with the reflection that the holy Virgin Mary never loved the tabor, and that no ſuch vulgar inſtrument was admitted at her wedding; while ſhe had in various ways ſhown her favour to the jougleurs. "I pray God," our minſtrel continues, "that he will ſend miſchief to him who

who firſt made a tabor, for it is an inſtrument which ought to pleaſe nobody. No rich man ought to love the ſound of a tabor, which is bad for people's heads; for, if ſtretched tight, and ſtruck hard, it may be heard at half a league's diſtance:"—

Qui primes fiſt tabor, Diex li envoit contraire!
Que c'eſtrument i eſt qu' à nului ne doit plaire.

Nus riches hom ne doit ſon de tabour amer.
Quant il eſt bien tendu et on le vent hurter,
De demie grant lieue le puet-on eſcouter;
Ci a trop mauvès ſon por ſon chief conforter.

The muſical inſtruments uſed by the mediæval gleemen and minſtrels form in themſelves a not unintereſting ſubject. Thoſe enumerated in the Anglo-Saxon vocabularies are the harp (*hearpe, cithara*), the *byme*, or trumpet, the pipe, "or whiſtle," the *fithele*, viol, or fiddle, the horn, and the trumpet, the latter of which was called in Anglo-Saxon *truth* and *ſærga*. To theſe we muſt certainly add a few others, for the drum or tabor ſeems to have been in uſe among them under ſome form, as well as the cymbal, hand-bells, lyre ſtruck by a plectrum, and the organ, which latter was already the favourite church inſtrument. A portable organ was in uſe in the middle ages, of which we give a figure (No. 124), from a manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum of the earlier part of the fourteenth century (MS. Reg. 14 E. iii.). This hand-organ was known alſo by the name of the dulcimer. It occurs again in the following group (No. 125), taken from a manuſcript of the fourteenth century in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Addit. No. 10,293), where the performer on the dulcimer is accompanied by two other minſtrels, one playing on the bagpipe, the other on the viol or fiddle.

No. 124. An Organ Player.

Each of the figures in this group is dreſſed in a coſtume ſo different from the others that one might almoſt ſuppoſe them engaged in

in a maſquerade; and they ſeem to diſcountenance the notion that the minſtrels were in the habit of wearing any dreſs peculiar to their claſs.

No. 125. *A Group of Minſtrels.*

In this reſpect, their teſtimony ſeems to be confirmed by the circumſtance that minſtrels are mentioned ſometimes as wearing the dreſſes which

No. 126. *David and his Muſicians.*

have been given them, among other gifts, as a reward for their performances. The illuminated letter here introduced (No. 126), which is taken

from a manuſcript of the thirteenth century in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Harl. No. 5102), repreſents king David ſinging his pſalms to the harp, while three muſicians accompany him. The firſt, who ſits beſide him, is playing on the ſhalm or pſaltery, which is frequently figured in the illuminations of manuſcripts. One of the two upper figures is playing on bells, which alſo is a deſcription of muſic often repreſented in the illuminations of different periods; and the other is blowing the horn. Theſe are all inſtruments of ſolemn and eccleſiaſtical muſic. In the next cut (No. 127), taken from a manuſcript of the fourteenth century (MS. Reg. 2 B. vii.), the ſhalm is placed in the hands of a nun, while a friar is performing on a rather ſingularly ſhaped cittern, or lute.

In other manuſcripts we find the ordinary muſical inſtruments placed

No. 127. *Muſicians of the Cloiſter.*

in the hands of the angels; as in the early fourteenth century MS. Reg. 2 B. vii., in a repreſentation (copied in our cut No. 128) of the creation with the morning ſtars ſinging together, and all the ſons of God ſhouting for joy, an angelic choir are making melody on the trumpet, fiddle, cittern, ſhalm, and harp. There is another choir of angels at p. 168 of the ſame MS., with two citterns and two ſhalms, a fiddle and a trumpet. Similar repreſentations occur in the choirs of churches. In the boſſes of the ceiling of Tewkeſbury abbey church we ſee angels playing the cittern (with a plectrum), the harp (with its cover ſeen enveloping the lower half of the inſtrument), and the cymbals. In the choir of Lincoln cathedral,

cathedral, ſome of the ſeries of angels which fill the ſpandrels of its

No. 128. *The Angelic Choir.*

arcades, and which have given to it the name of the angel choir, are playing inſtruments, ſuch as the trumpet, double pipe, pipe and tabret, dulcimer, viol and harp, as if to repreſent the heavenly choir attuning their praiſes in harmony with the human choir below:—"therefore with angels and archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious name." We will introduce here another drawing of an angelic minſtrel (No. 129), playing a ſhalm, from the Royal MS. 14 E. iii.; others occur at folio 1 of the ſame MS. It has been ſuggeſted that the band of village muſicians with flute, violin, clarionet, and baſſ-viol, whom moſt of us have ſeen occupying the ſinging-gallery of ſome country church, are probably not inaccurate repreſentatives of the band of minſtrels who occupied the rood-lofts in mediæval times. In this period of the middle ages, indeed, muſic ſeems to have had a great charm for all claſſes of ſociety, and each claſs appears in turn in the minſtrel character in the illuminations of the manuſcripts. Even the ſhepherds, throughout the middle ages, ſeem to have been muſical, like the ſwains of Theocritus or Virgil; for we conſtantly find them repreſented playing upon inſtruments; and in confirmation we give a couple of goatherds

No. 129. *An Angel Playing on the Shalm.*

(No.

(No. 130), from MS. Reg. 2 B. vii. fol. 83, of early fourteenth century date: they are playing on the pipe and horn. But, beſides theſe inſtru-

No. 130. *A Group of Shepherds.*

No. 131. *A Bagpiper.*

ments, the bagpipe was alſo a ruſtic inſtrument: there is a ſhepherd playing upon one on folio 112 of the ſame MS. (given in our cut No. 131): and again, in the early fourteenth century MS. Reg. 2 B. vi., on the reverſe of folio 8, is a group of ſhepherds, one of whom plays a ſmall pipe, and another the bagpipes. Chaucer (in the "Houſe of Fame") mentions—

No. 132. *The Lady and Tambourine.*

Pipes made of grene corne,
As han thiſe lytel herde gromes,
That kepen beſtis in the bromes.

It is curious to find that even at ſo late a period as the reign of queen Mary, they ſtill officiated at weddings and other merrymakings in their villages, and even ſometimes excited the jealouſy of the profeſſors of the joyous ſcience, as we have ſeen in the early French poem againſt the taborers.

No. 133. *A Drummer.*

I give next (cut No. 132) a repreſentation of a female minſtrel playing the tambourine; it is alſo taken from a MS. of the fourteenth century (MS. Reg. 2 B. vii. fol. 182).

The earlieſt inſtance yet met with of the modern-ſhaped drum is contained in the Coronation Book of Richard II., preſerved in the Chapter-houſe, Weſtminſter, and is repre-

ſented

ſented in the annexed cut (No. 133). This mediæval drummer is clearly intended to be playing on two drums at once; and, in conſidering their forms and poſition, we muſt make ſome allowance for the mediæval neglect of perſpective.

In the mediæval vocabularies we find ſeveral liſts of muſical inſtruments then beſt known. Thus John de Garlande, in the middle of the thirteenth century, enumerates, as the minſtrels who were to be ſeen in the houſes of the wealthy, individuals who performed on the inſtruments which he terms in Latin, *lyra* (meaning the harp), *tibia* (the flute), *cornu* (the horn), *vidula* (the fiddle), *ſiſtrum* (the drum), *giga* (the gittern), *ſymphonia* (a ſymphony), *pſalterium* (the pſaltery), *chorus*, *citola* (the

No. 134. *Blowing the Trumpet and Playing on the Cymbals.*

cittern), *tympanum* (the tabor), and *cymbala* (cymbals). The Engliſh gloſſaries of the fifteenth century add to theſe the trumpet, the *ribibe* (a ſort of fiddle), organs, and the crowd. The forms of theſe inſtruments of various periods will be found in the illuſtrations which have been given in the courſe of the preſent chapter. It will be well perhaps to enumerate again the moſt common; they are the harp, fiddle, cittern or lute, hand-organ or dulcimer, the ſhalm or pſaltery, the pipe and tabor, pipes of various ſizes played like clarionets, but called flutes, the double pipe, hand-bells, trumpets and horns, bagpipes, tambourine, tabret, drum, and cymbals. We give two further groups of figures in illuſtration of theſe inſtruments, both taken from the Royal MS. ſo often quoted, 2 B. vii. In the firſt (No. 134) we

we have a boy (apparently) playing the cymbals; and in the ſecond (No.

No. 135. *The Dulcimer and Double Flute.*

135) an example of the double flute, which we have already ſeen in

No. 136. *Muſical Inſtruments.*

Anglo-Saxon manuſcripts (ſee before, pp. 35 and 65), and which appears to have

have been one of the muſical inſtruments borrowed immediately from the Romans. In concluſion of this ſubject we give a group of muſical inſtruments (No. 136) from one of the illuſtrations of the celebrated book entitled "Der Weiſe König," a work of the cloſe of the fifteenth century.

The early commentator on the Dictionarius, or Vocabulary, of John de Garlande, calls the muſical inſtruments *inſtrumenta leccatorum*, (inſtruments of the letchers or ribalds), and I have already ſtated that the minſtrels, or jougleurs, were conſidered as belonging generally to that degraded claſs of ſociety. In the vocabularies of the fifteenth century, they are generally claſſed under the head of reprehenſible or diſgraceful profeſſions, along with ribalds, heretics, harlots, and ſo forth. It was the ſame character which led them, a little later, to be proſcribed in acts of parliament, under the titles of rogues and vagabonds. In the older poetry, too, they are often joined with diſgraceful epithets. There is a curious early metrical ſtory, or fabliau, which was made, no doubt, to be recited by the minſtrels themſelves, although it throws ridicule on their profeſſion; it is entitled *Les deux Troveors ribaux*, "the two ribald trouvères," and conſiſts in a ludicrous diſpute between them on their qualifications as minſtrels. My readers muſt not ſuppoſe that at this time the reciters of poetry were a different or better claſs than thoſe who performed jugglery and low buffoonery—for, in this poem, either of the two claimants to ſuperiority boaſts of his ſkill equally in poſſeſſing in his memory completely, and being able to recite well, the early Chanſons de Geſte, or Carlovingian romances, the later romances of chivalry, and the fabliaus or metrical ſtories; in playing upon the moſt faſhionable muſical inſtruments, ſuch as the citole, the fiddle, and the *gigue* (gittern); in performing extraordinary feats and in ſleight of hand; and even in making chaplets of flowers, and in acting as a ſpy or as a go-between in love intrigues. No doubt there were minſtrels who kept themſelves more reſpectable, but they were exceptions to the general character of the claſs, and were chiefly men in the ſervice of the king or of the great barons. There appears alſo to have been, for a long time, a continued attempt to raiſe minſtrelſy to a reſpectable poſition, and out of this attempt aroſe, in different places, companies and guilds. Of theſe, the moſt

moſt remarkable of which we have any knowledge in this country, was the ancient fraternity of minſtrels of Beverley, in Yorkſhire. When this company originated is not known; but it was of ſome conſideration and wealth in the reign of Henry VI., when the church of St. Mary's, in that town, was built; for the minſtrels gave a pillar to it, on the capital of which a band of minſtrels were ſculptured. The cut below (No. 137)

No. 137. *The Minſtrels of Beverley.*

is copied from the engraving of this group, given in Carter's "Ancient Painting and Sculpture." The oldeſt exiſting document of the fraternity is a copy of laws of the time of Philip and Mary, ſimilar to thoſe by which all trade guilds were governed: their officers were an alderman and two ſtewards or ſeers (*i. e.* ſearchers); and the only items in their laws which throw any light upon the hiſtory or condition of the minſtrels are—one which requires that they ſhould not take "any new brother except he be mynſtrell to ſome man of honour or worſhip, or waite of ſome towne corporate or other ancient town, or elſe of ſuch honeſtye and conyng (*knowledge*) as ſhall be thought laudable and pleaſant to the hearers there;" and another, to the effect that "no mylner, ſhepherd, or of other occupation, or huſbandman, or huſbandman ſervant, playing upon pype or other inſtrument, ſhall ſue (*follow*) any wedding, or other thing that pertaineth to the ſaid ſcience, except in his own pariſh." Inſtitutions like theſe, however, had little effect in counteracting the natural

natural decline of minſtrelſy, for the ſtate of ſociety in which it exiſted was paſſing away. It would be curious to trace the changes in its hiſtory by the inſtruments which became eſpecially characteriſtic of the popular jougleur. The harp had given way to the fiddle, and already, towards the end of the thirteenth century, the fiddle was yielding its place to the tabor. In the Anglo-Norman romance of Horn, of the thirteenth century, we are told of a ribald "who goes to marriages to play on the tabor"—

A li piert qu'il eſt las un lechur
Ki à ces nocces vient pur juer od tabur;

and the curious fabliau of the king of England and the jougleur of Ely deſcribes the latter as carrying his tabor ſwung to his neck—

Entour ſon col porta ſoun tabour.

CHAPTER X.

AMUSEMENTS AFTER DINNER.—GAMBLING.—THE GAME OF CHESS.—ITS HISTORY.—DICE.—TABLES.—DRAUGHTS.

THE dinner hour, even among the higheſt ranks of ſociety, was, as I have ſtated, early in the forenoon; and, except in the caſe of great feaſts, it appears not to have been cuſtomary to ſit long after dinner. Thus a great part of the day was left on people's hands, to fill up with ſome deſcription of amuſement or occupation. After the dinner was taken away, and the ceremony of waſhing had been gone through, the wine cup appears to have been at leaſt once paſſed round, before they all roſe from table. The Camden Society has recently publiſhed an early French metrical romance ("Blonde of Oxford," by Philippe de Reimes), which gives us a very intereſting picture of the manners of the thirteenth century. Jean of Dammartin is repreſented as the ſon of a noble family in France, who comes to England to ſeek his fortune, and enters the ſervice of an earl of Oxford, as one of the eſquires in his houſehold. There his duty is to attend upon the earl's daughter, the lady Blonde, and to ſerve her at table. "After the meal, they waſh their hands and then go to play, as each likes beſt, either in foreſts or on rivers (*i.e.* hunting or hawking), or in amuſements of other kinds. Jean goes to which of them he likes, and, when he returns, he often goes to play in the chambers of the counteſs, with the ladies, who oblige him to teach them French." Jean does his beſt to pleaſe them, for which he was qualified by his education, "For he was very well acquainted with chamber games, ſuch as cheſs, tables, and dice, with which he entertains his damſel

damſel (Blonde); he often ſays 'check' and 'mate' to her, and he taught her to play many a game:"—

De jus de cambres ſeut aſſés,
D'eſchés, de tables, et de dés,
Dont il ſa damoiſele eſbat;
Souvent li diſt eſchek et mat;
De maint jeu à juer l'apriſt.—Blonde of Oxford, l. 399.

This is a correct picture of the uſual occupations of the after-part of the day among the ſuperior claſſes of ſociety in the feudal ages; and ſcenes in accordance with it are often found in the illuminations of the mediæval manuſcripts. One of theſe is repreſented in the engraving (No. 138) on the following page, taken from a manuſcript of the fifteenth century, containing the romance of the "Quatre Fils d'Aymon," and preſerved in the Library of the Arſenal, in Paris. In the chamber in front a nobleman and one of the great ladies of his houſehold are engaged at cheſs, while in the background we ſee other ladies enjoying themſelves in the garden, which is ſhown to us with its ſummer-houſe and its flower-beds ſurrounded with fences of lattice-work. It may be remarked, that the attention of the cheſſ-players is withdrawn ſuddenly from their game by the entrance of an armed knight, who appears in another compartment of the illumination in the manuſcript.

Of the chamber games enumerated in the foregoing extract from the romance of "Blonde of Oxford," that of cheſs was no doubt looked upon as by far the moſt diſtinguiſhed. To play well at cheſs was conſidered as a very important part of an ariſtocratic education. Thus, in the "Chanſon de Geſte" (metrical romance) of Pariſe la Ducheſſe, the ſon of the heroine, who was brought up by the king in his palace, had no ſooner reached his fifteenth year, than "he was taught firſt his letters, until he had made ſufficient progreſs in them, and then he learnt to play at tables and cheſs," and learnt theſe games ſo well, "that no man in this world was able to mate him:"—

Quant l'anfès ot xv. ans et complix et paſſez,
Premiers apriſt à lettres, tant qu'il en ſot aſſez;
Puis apriſt-il as tables et à eſchas joier,
It n'a ome an ceſt monde qui l'en peuſt mater.—Parise la Duchesse, p. 86.

In

In this numerous cycle of romances, ſcenes in which kings and princes, as well as nobles, are repreſented as occupying their leiſure with the game of cheſs, occur very frequently, and ſometimes the game forms an impor-

No. 138. *A Mediæval after-dinner Scene.*

tant incident in the ſtory. In "Garin le Loherain," a meſſenger hurries to Bordeaux, and finds count Thiebaut playing at cheſs with Berengier d'Autri. Thiebaut is ſo much excited by his news, that he puſhes the cheſſ-board

cheſſ-board violently from him, and ſcatters the cheſſ-men about the place—

Thiebaus l'oït, à pou n'enrage vis,
Li eſchés boute, et le jeu eſpandit.—Garin le Loherain, ii. 77.

So, in the ſame romance, the emperor Pepin, arriving at his camp, had no ſooner entered his tent than, having put on a looſe tunic (*bliaut*), and a mantle, he called for a cheſſ-board, and ſat down to play—

Eſchés demande, ſi eſt au jeu aſſis.—Ib., ii. 127.

Even Witikind, the king of the pagan Saxons, is repreſented as amuſing himſelf with this game. When the meſſenger, who carried him news that Charlemagne was on the way to make war upon him, arrived at "Tremoigne," the palace of the Saxon king, he found Witikind playing at cheſs with Eſcorfaus de Lutiſe, and the Saxon queen, Sebile, who was alſo well acquainted with the game, looking on—

A lui joe as eſchas Eſcorfaus de Lutiſe;
Sebile les eſgarde, qi do jeu eſt apriſe.—Chanson des Saxons, i. 91.

Witikind was ſo angry at this intelligence, that his face "became as red as a cherry," and he broke the cheſs-board to pieces—

D'ire et de mautalant rugiſt comme ceriſe;
Le meſſage regarde, le geu peçoie et briſe.

In the "Chanſon de Geſte" of Guerin de Montglaive, the ſtory turns upon an imprudent act of Charlemagne, who ſtakes his whole kingdom upon a game of cheſs, and loſing it to Guerin, is obliged to compound with him by ſurrendering to him his right to the city of Montglaive, then in the poſſeſſion of the Saracens.

Theſe "Chanſons de Geſte," formed upon the traditions of the early Carlovingian period, can only of courſe be taken as a picture of the manner of the age at which they were compoſed, that is, of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and we know, from hiſtorical evidence, that the picture is ſtrictly true. At that period cheſs certainly was what has been termed the royal game. The celebrated Walter Mapes, writing in the latter half of the twelfth century, gives a curious anecdote relating to tragical

tragical events which had occurred at the court of Britany, apparently in the earlier part of the ſame century. Alan of Britany, perhaps the laſt of the name who had ruled over that country, had, at the ſuggeſtion of his wife, entrapped a feudatory prince, Remelin, and ſubjected him to the loſs of his eyes and other mutilations. Remelin's ſon, Wigan, having eſcaped a ſimilar fate, made war upon Alan, and reduced him to ſuch extremities that, through the interference of the king of France, he made his peace with Wigan, by giving him his daughter in marriage, and thus for many years the country remained in peace. But it appears that the lady always ſhared in her father's feuds, and looked with exulting contempt on her father's mutilated enemy. One day ſhe was playing with her huſband at cheſs, and, towards the end of the game, Wigan, called away by ſome important buſineſs, aſked one of his knights to take his place at the cheſſ-board. The lady was the conqueror, and when ſhe made her laſt move, ſhe ſaid to the knight, "It is not to you, but to the ſon of the mutilated that I ſay 'mate.'" Wigan heard this ſarcaſm, and, deeply offended, hurried to the reſidence of his father-in-law, took him by ſurpriſe, and inflicted upon him the ſame mutilations which had been experienced by Remelin. Then, returning home, he engaged in another game with his wife, and, having gained it, threw the eyes and other parts of which her father had been deprived on the cheſſ-board, exclaiming, "I ſay *mate*, to the daughter of the mutilated." The ſtory goes on to ſay that the lady concealed her deſire of vengeance, until ſhe found an opportunity of effecting the murder of her huſband.

We need not be ſurpriſed if, among the turbulent barons of the middle ages, the game of cheſs often gave riſe to diſputes and ſanguinary quarrels. The curious hiſtory of the Fitz-Warines, reduced to writing certainly in the thirteenth century, gives the following account of the origin of the feud between king John and Fulk Fitz-Warine, the outlaw:—"Young Fulk," we are told, "was bred with the four ſons of king Henry II., and was much beloved by them all except John; for he uſed often to quarrel with John. It happened that John and Fulk were ſitting all alone in a chamber playing at cheſs; John took the cheſs-board and ſtruck Fulk a great blow. Fulk felt himſelf hurt, raiſed his foot

foot and ſtruck John in the middle of the ſtomach, that his head went againſt the wall, and he became all weak and fainted. Fulk was in conſternation; but he was glad that there was nobody in the chamber but they two, and he rubbed John's ears, who recovered from his fainting-fit, and went to the king his father, and made a great complaint. 'Hold your tongue, wretch,' ſaid the king, 'you are always quarrelling. If Fulk did anything but good to you, it muſt have been by your own deſert;' and he called his maſter, and made him beat him finely and well for complaining." Similar incidents recur continually in the early romances I have juſt quoted as the "Chanſons de Geſte," which give us ſo vivid a picture of feudal times. A fatal quarrel of this kind was the cauſe of the feud between Charlemagne and Ogier le Danois. At one of the Eaſter feſtivals of the court of Charlemagne, the emperor's ſon, Charles, and Bauduin, the illegitimate ſon of Ogier, went to play together. Bauduin and young Charles took a cheſſ-board and ſat down to the game for paſtime. "They have arranged their cheſſ-men on the board. The king's ſon firſt moved his pawn, and young Bauduin moved his *aufin* (biſhop) backwards. The king's ſon thought to preſs him very hard, and moves his knight upon the other *aufin*. The one moved forward and the other backward ſo long, that young Bauduin ſaid 'mate' to him in the corner:"—

Il et Callos priſent un eſquekier,
Au ju ſ'aſiſent por aus eſbanier.
S'ont lor eſches aſſis ſor le tabler.
Li fix au roi traiſt ſon paon premier,
Bauduinés traiſt ſon aufin arier.
Li fix au roi le volt forment coitier,
Sus l'autre aufin a trait ſon chevalier.
Tant traiſt li uns avant et l'autre arier,
Bauduinés li diſt mat en l'angler.—Ogier de Danemarche, l. 3159.

The young prince was furious at his defeat, and, not content with treating the ſon of Ogier with the moſt inſulting language, he ſeized the cheſs-board in his two hands, and ſtruck him ſo violent a blow on the forehead, that he ſplit his head, and ſcattered his brains over the floor. In a well-known illuminated manuſcript of the fifteenth century, in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Reg. 15 E. vi.), containing a copy of the romance of "Ogier

"Ogier le Danois," this ſcene is repreſented in an illumination which is copied in our cut No. 139. Similar incidents are rather common in theſe old romances. In that of "Pariſe la Ducheſſe," her young ſon, brought up as a foundling at the court of the king of Hungary, becomes an object of jealouſy to the old nobles. Four of the ſons of the latter conſpire to murder him, and it is arranged that they ſhall invite him to go and play at cheſs with them in a retired cellar, and, having ſecretly provided themſelves with knives, inſult him, in order to draw him into a

No. 139. A Quarrel at Cheſs.

quarrel, and then ſtab him to death. "Hugues," they ſaid, "will you come with us to play at cheſs? you may gain a hundred francs on the gilt cheſſ-board, and at the ſame time you will teach us cheſs and dice; for certainly you know the games much better than any of us." Hugues ſeems to have been conſcious of the frequency of quarrels ariſing from the game, for it was not until they had promiſed him that they would not ſeek any cauſe of diſpute, that he accepted their invitation. They then led him into the cellar, and ſat down at the cheſſ-board. "He began by playing with the ſon of duke Granier; and each put down a hundred francs in coined money; but he had ſoon vanquiſhed and mated them all, that not one of them was able to mate him:"—

Au

Au fil au duc Graner comença à juer ;
Chaſcuns miſt c. frans de deniers moniex ;
Mais il les a treſtox et vancus et matex,
Que il n'i ot i. fol qui l'an poüſt mater.—Parise la Duchesse, p. 105.

Hugues, in kindneſs, offered to teach them better how to play, without allowing them to riſk their money, but they drew their knives upon him, and inſulted him in the moſt outrageous terms. He killed the foremoſt of them with a blow of his fiſt, and ſeizing upon the cheſſ-board for a weapon, for he was unarmed, he "brained" the other three with it. We learn from this anecdote that it was the cuſtom in the middle ages to play at cheſs for money.

As I have already remarked, theſe romances picture to us the manners of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and not thoſe of the Carlovingian era. The period when the game of cheſs was firſt introduced into weſtern Europe can only be conjectured, for writers of all deſcriptions were ſo much in the habit of employing the notions belonging to their own time in relating the events of the paſt, that we can place no dependence on anything which is not abſolute contemporary evidence. The cheſſ-board and men ſo long preſerved in the treaſury of St. Denis, and ſaid to have belonged to Charlemagne, were, I think, probably, not older than the eleventh century, and appear to have had a Byzantine origin. If the game of cheſs had been known at the court of Charlemagne, I cannot but think that we ſhould have found ſome diſtinct alluſion to it. The earlieſt mention of this game that we know is found in a letter from Damianus, cardinal biſhop of Oſtia, to Alexander II., who was elected to the papacy in 1061, and enjoyed it till 1073. Damianus tells the pope how he was travelling with a biſhop of Florence, when, "having arrived in the evening at a hoſtel, I withdrew," he ſays, "into the cell of a prieſt, while he remained with the crowd of travellers in the ſpacious houſe. In the morning, I was informed by my ſervant that the aforeſaid biſhop had been playing at the game of cheſs; which information, like an arrow, pierced my heart very acutely. At a convenient hour, I ſent for him, and ſaid in a tone of ſevere reproof, 'The hand is ſtretched out, the rod is ready for the back of the offender.' 'Let the fault be proved,' ſaid

ſaid he, 'and penance ſhall not be refuſed.' 'Was it well,' I rejoined, 'was it worthy of the character you bear, to ſpend the evening in the vanity of cheſſ-play (*in vanitate ſcachorum*), and defile the hands and tongue, which ought to be the mediator between man and the Deity? Are you not aware that, by the canonical law, biſhops, who are dice-players, are ordered to be depoſed?' He, however, making himſelf a ſhield of defence from the difference in the names, ſaid that dice was one thing, and cheſs another; conſequently that the canon only forbade dice, but that it tacitly allowed cheſs. To which I replied, 'Cheſs,' I ſaid, 'is not named in the text, but the general term of dice comprehends both the games. Wherefore, ſince dice are prohibited, and cheſs is not expreſſly mentioned, it follows, without doubt, that both kinds of play are included under one term, and equally condemned?'" This occurred in Italy, and it is evident from it that the game of cheſs was then well known there, though I think we have a right to conclude from it, that it had not been long known. There appears to be little room for doubting, that cheſs was, like ſo many other mediæval practices, an oriental invention, that the Byzantine Greeks derived it from the Saracens, and that from them it came by way of Italy to France.

The knowledge of the game of cheſs, however, ſeems to have been brought more directly from the Eaſt by the Scandinavian navigators, to whom ſuch a means of paſſing time in their diſtant voyages, and in their long nights at home, was moſt welcome, and who ſoon became extraordinarily attached to it, and diſplayed their ingenuity in elaborately carving cheſſ-men in ivory (that is, in the ivory of the walrus), which ſeem to have found an extenſive market in other countries. In the year 1831, a conſiderable number of theſe carved ivory cheſſ-men were found on the coaſt of the Iſle of Lewis, probably the reſult of ſome ſhipwreck in the twelfth century, for to that period they belong. They formed part of at leaſt ſeven ſets, and had therefore probably been the ſtock of a dealer. Some of them were obtained by the Britiſh Muſeum, and a very learned and valuable paper on them was communicated by sir Frederic Madden to the Society of Antiquaries, and printed in the twenty-fourth volume of the *Archæologia*. Some of the beſt of them, however, remained

remained in private hands, and have more recently paſſed into the rich muſeum of the late lord Londeſborough. We give here two groups of theſe curious cheſſ-men, taken from the collection of lord Londeſborough, and from thoſe in the Britiſh Muſeum as engraved in the volume of the *Archæologia* juſt referred to. The firſt group, forming our cut No. 140,

4 2 1

No. 140. *Icelandic Cheſſ-men of the Twelfth Century.*

conſiſts of a king (1), from the collection of lord Londeſborough, and a queen (2), biſhop (3), and knight (4), all from the *Archæologia;* and the ſecond group (No. 141) preſents us with the warriors on foot, to which the Icelanders gave the name of *hrokr*, and to which sir Frederic Madden gives the Engliſh name of warders, one of them (5) from lord Londeſborough's collection, the other (6) from the Britiſh Muſeum. The reſt are pawns, all from the latter collection; they are generally plain and octagonal, as in the group to the right (7), but were ſometimes ornamented, as in the caſe of the other example (8).

It will be ſeen at once that in name and character theſe cheſſ-men are nearly identical with thoſe in common uſe, although in coſtume they are purely Scandinavian. The king ſits in the poſition, with his ſword acroſs his knee, and his hand ready to draw it, which is deſcribed as characteriſtic of royalty in the old northern poetry. The queen holds in her hand

hand a drinking horn, in which at great feſtivals the lady of the houſehold, of whatever rank, was accuſtomed to ſerve out the ale or mead to the gueſts. The biſhops are ſome ſeated, and others ſtanding, but all diſtinguiſhed by the mitre, croſier, and epiſcopal coſtume. The knights are

8 6 5 7

No. 141. *Icelandic Cheſſ-men of the Twelfth Century.*

all on horſeback, and are covered with characteriſtic armour. The armed men on foot, juſt mentioned by the name of warders, were peculiar to the Scandinavian ſet of cheſſ-men, and ſupplied the place of the rocks, or rooks, in the mediæval game, and of the modern caſtle.

Several of the cheſſ-men had indeed gone through more than one modification in their progreſs from the Eaſt. The Arabs and Perſians admitted no female among the perſons on their cheſſ-board, and the piece which we call the queen was with them the *pherz* (vizier or councillor). The oriental name, under the form *fers*, *ferz*, or *ferce*, in Latin *ferzia*, was long preſerved in the middle ages, though certainly as early as the twelfth century the original character of the piece had been changed for that of a queen, and the names *fers* and queen became ſynonymous. It is hardly neceſſary to ſay that a biſhop would not be found on a Saracenic cheſſ-board. This piece was called by the Perſians and Arabs *pil* or *phil*, meaning an elephant, under the form of which animal it was repreſented. This name was alſo preſerved in its tranſmiſſion to the weſt, and with the Arab article prefixed became *alfil*, or more commonly *alfin*,

alfin, which was again ſoftened down into *aufin,* the uſual name of the piece in the old French and Engliſh writers. The character of the biſhop muſt have been adopted very early among the Chriſtians, and it is found under that character among the Northerns, and in England. Such, however, was not the caſe everywhere. The Ruſſians and Swedes have preſerved the original name of the elephant. In Italy and France this piece was ſometimes repreſented as an archer; and at an early period in the latter country, from a ſuppoſed confuſion of the Arabic *fil* with the French *fol,* it was ſometimes called by the latter name, and repreſented as a court jeſter. *Roc,* the name given by the Saracens to the piece now called the caſtle, meant apparently a hero, or champion, Perſian *rokh;* the name was preſerved in the middle ages, but the piece ſeems to have been firſt repreſented under the character of an elephant, and it was no doubt, from the tower which the elephant carried on its back, that our modern form originated. The Icelanders ſeem alone to have adopted

No. 142. *Cheſſ-man of the Thirteenth Century.*

the name in its original meaning, for with them, as ſhown in cut No. 141, the *hrokr* is repreſented as a warrior on foot.

A few examples of carved cheſſ-men have been found in different parts of England, which ſhow that theſe highly-ornamented pieces were in uſe at all periods. One of theſe, repreſented in our cut No. 142, is preſerved in the Aſhmolean Muſeum at Oxford, and, to judge by the coſtume, belongs to the earlier part of the thirteenth century. Its material

material is the tooth of the walrus (the northern ivory); it repreſents a knight on both ſides, one wielding a lance, the other a ſword, the intervening ſpaces being filled with foliage. Another knight, made of real ivory, is repreſented in our cut No. 143, taken from an engraving in the third volume of the *Archæological Journal*, where it is ſtated to be in the poſſeſſion of the Rev. J. Eagles, of Worceſter. It belongs to the reign of Edward III. Here the knight is on horſeback, and wears chain-mail and plate. The body of the horſe is entirely covered with chain-mail, over which houſings are placed, and the head with plate-armour.

No. 143. *Cheſſ-man of the Fourteenth Century.*

All who are acquainted with the general character of mediæval carving will ſuppoſe that theſe ornamental cheſſ-men were of large dimenſions, and conſequently rather clumſy for uſe. The largeſt of thoſe found in the Iſle of Lewis, a king, is upwards of four inches in height, and nearly ſeven inches in circumference. They were hence rather formidable weapons in a ſtrong hand, and we find them uſed as ſuch in ſome of the ſcenes of the early romances. According to one verſion of the death of Bauduin, the illegitimate ſon of Ogier, the young prince Charles ſtruck him with the rook ſo violent a blow that he made his two eyes fly out:—

Là le dona Callos le cop mortel
Si com jwoit as eſkés et as dés;
Là le feri d'un rok par tel fiertés,
Que andus les elx li fiſt du cief voler.—**Ogier de Danemarche, l. 90.**

A rather rude illumination is one of the manuſcripts, of which M. Barrois has given a fac-ſimile in his edition of this romance, repreſenting Charles ſtriking his opponent with the rook. According to another verſion of the ſtory, the young prince, uſing the rook as a miſſile, threw it at him. An incident in the romance of the "Quatre Fils d'Aymon,"

d'Aymon," where the agents of Regnault go to arreſt the duke Richard of Normandy, and find him playing at cheſs, is thus told quaintly in the Engliſh verſion, printed by Copeland :—"When duke Richarde ſaw that theſe ſergeauntes had him thus by the arm, and helde in his hande a lady of ivery, wherewith he would have given a mate to Yonnet, he withdrew his arme, and gave to one of the ſergeauntes ſuch a ſtroke with it into the forehead, that he made him tumble over and over at his feete; and than he tooke a rooke, and ſmote another withall upon his head, that he all to-broſt it to the brayne."

The cheſſ-boards were naturally large, and were ſometimes made of the precious metals, and of other rich materials. In one romance, the cheſſ-board and men are made of cryſtal; in another, that of "Alexander," the men are made of ſapphires and topazes. A cheſſ-board, preſerved in the muſeum of the Hôtel de Cluny, at Paris, and ſaid to have been the one given by the old man of the mountains (the sheikh of the Haſſaſſins) to St. Louis, is made of rock-cryſtal, and mounted in ſilver gilt. In the romances, however, the cheſſ-board is ſometimes ſpoken of as made of *ormier*, or elm. In fact, when the game of cheſs came into extenſive uſe, it became neceſſary not only to make the cheſſ-board and men of leſs expenſive materials and ſmaller, but to give to the latter ſimple conventional forms, inſtead of making them elaborate ſculptures. The foundation for this latter practice had already been laid by the Arabs, whoſe tenets, contrary to thoſe of the Perſians, proſcribed all images of living beings. The mediæval conventional form of the rook, a figure with a bi-parted head, ſomewhat approaching to the heraldic form of the fleur-de-lis, appears to have been taken directly from the Arabs. The knight was repreſented by a ſmall upright column, the upper part of it bent to one ſide, and is ſuppoſed to have been meant for a rude repreſentation of the horſe's head. The aufin, or biſhop, had the ſame form as the knight, except that the bent end was cleft, probably as an indication of the epiſcopal mitre. The accompanying figure of a cheſſ-board (No. 144), taken from a manuſcript of the earlier part of the fourteenth century (MS. Cotton. Cleopat. B. ix.), but no doubt copied from one of the latter part of the thirteenth century, when the Anglo-Norman metrical treatiſe

on

on cheſs which it illuſtrates was compoſed, gives all the conventional forms of cheſs-men uſed at that time. The piece at the left-hand extremity of the lower row is evidently a king. The other king is ſeen in the centre of the upper row. Immediately to the left of the latter is the queen, and the two figures below the king and queen are knights, while thoſe to the left of the queen and white knight are rooks. Thoſe in the right-hand corner, at top and bottom, are aufins, or biſhops. The pawns on this cheſſ-board bear a ſtriking reſemblance to thoſe found in

No. 144. *An Early Cheſſ-board and Cheſſ-men.*

the Iſle of Lewis. The ſame forms, with very ſlight variations, preſent themſelves in the ſcenes of cheſſ-playing as depicted in the illumi manuſcripts. Thus, in a manuſcript of the French proſe rom "Meliadus," in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Addit. No. 12,228, f written between the years 1330 and 1350, we have an intere (given in our cut No. 145) of two kings engaged in this rooks and the biſhops are diſtinctly repreſented, but the c eaſily recogniſed, in conſequence of the imperfect drawi cut (No. 146) is taken from the well-known manuſcript the German Minneſingers, made for Rudiger von Man fourteenth century, and now preſerved in the Nationa

and repreſents the prince poet, Otto of Brandenburg, playing at cheſs

No. 145. *A Royal Game at Cheſs.*

with a lady. We have here the ſame conventional forms of cheſſ-men, a

No. 146. *in the Fourteenth Century.*

umſtance which ne ſame types prevailed in England,

 France,

France, and Germany. Another group, in which a king is introduced playing at cheſs, forms the ſubject of our cut No. 147, and is taken from a manuſcript of the thirteenth century, in the Harleian collection in the Britiſh Muſeum (No. 1275), conſiſting of a numerous ſeries of illuſtrations of the Bible hiſtory, executed evidently in England. It will be ſeen that the character of cheſs as a royal game is ſuſtained throughout.

No. 147. A King at Cheſs.

In this century the game of cheſs had become extremely popular among the feudal ariſtocracy—including under that head all who could aſpire to knighthood. Already, in the twelfth century, directions for the game had been compoſed in Latin verſe, which ſeems to ſhow that, in ſpite of the zeal of men like cardinal Damianus, it was popular among the clergy. Towards the latter end of the thirteenth century, a French dominican friar, Jacques de Ceſſoles, made the game the ſubject of a moral work, entitled *Moralitas de Scaccario*, which became very popular in later times, was publiſhed in a French verſion by Jean de Vignay, and tranſlated from this French verſion into Engliſh, by Caxton, in his "Boke of Cheſſe," ſo celebrated among bibliographers. To the age of Jacques de Ceſſoles belongs an Anglo-Norman metrical treatiſe on cheſs, of which ſeveral copies are preſerved in manuſcript (the one I have uſed is in MS. Reg. 13 A. xviii. fol. 161, v°), and which preſents us with the firſt collection of games. Theſe games are diſtinguiſhed by quaint names, like thoſe given to the old dances; ſuch as *de propre confuſion* (one's own confuſion), *ky perde, ſey ſauve* (the loſer wins), *ky eſt larges, eſt ſages* (he that is liberal is wiſe), *meſchief fet hom penſer* (misfortune makes a man reflect), *la chace de ferce et de chivaler* (the chace of the queen and the knight), *de dames et de damyceles* (ladies and damſels), *la batalie de rokes* (the battle of the rooks), and the like.

It is quite unneceſſary to attempt to point out the numerous alluſions to the game of cheſs during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when it continued to be extremely popular. Chaucer, in one of his minor poems,

poems, the "Boke of the Ducheſſe," introduces himſelf in a dream as playing at cheſs with Fortune, and ſpeaks of falſe moves, as though diſhoneſt tricks were ſometimes practiſed in the game. He tells us,—

At cheſſe with me ſhe gan to pleye,
With hir fals draughtes (moves) *dyvers*
She ſtaale on me, and toke my fers (queen);
And whanne I ſaugh my fers awaye,
Allas! I kouthe no lenger playe,
But ſeyde, "Farewel, ſweete! yours,
And farewel al that ever ther ys!"
Therwith Fortune ſeyde, "Chek here!"
And "mate" in the myd poynt of the chekkere (chess-board),
With a powne (pawn) *errante, allas!*
Ful craftier to pleye ſhe was
Than Athalus, that made the game
Firſt of the cheſſe, ſo was hys name.—ROBERT BELL'S Chaucer, vol. vi. p. 157.

With the breaking up of feudaliſm, the game of cheſs ſeems to have gone to a great extent out of practice, and made way for a comparatively new game,—that of cards, which now became very popular. When Caxton printed his "Boke of Cheſſe" in 1474, he ſought only to publiſh a moral treatiſe, and not to furniſh his countrymen with a book of inſtructions in the game. The cut of the cheſſ-player given in this book, copied in our cut No. 148, ſhows ſome modifications in the forms of the cheſſ-men. The knight, the rook, and the pawn, have preſerved their old forms; but we are led to ſuppoſe, by the number of pieces with the bi-partite head, that the biſhop had aſſumed a ſhape nearly reſembling that of the rook. We have juſt ſeen Chaucer alluding to one of the legends relating to the origin of this game. Caxton, after Jean de Vignay and Jacques de Ceſſoles, gives us a ſtrange ſtory how it was invented under Evylmerodach, king of Babylon, by a philoſopher, "whyche was named in Caldee Exerſes, or in Greke Philemetor."

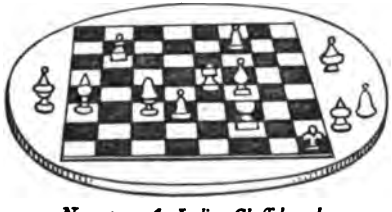
Meanwhile, the game of cheſs had continued to flouriſh in Italy, where it appears to have experienced improvements, and where certainly the forms of the men were conſiderably modified. An Italian verſion of the work of Jacques de Ceſſoles was printed at Florence in 1493, under the title of *Libro de Giuocho delli Scacchi*, among the engravings to which,

as

as in moſt of the editions of that work, there is a picture of a group of cheſſ-players, who are here ſeated at a round table. The cheſſ-board is repreſented in our cut, No. 149, and it will be ſeen at a glance that the

No. 148. *Cheſs in the Fifteenth Century.*

cheſſ-men preſent a far greater reſemblance to thoſe uſed at the preſent day than thoſe given in the older illuminations. Within a few years of the date of this book, a Portugueſe, named Damiano, who was perhaps



No. 149. *An Italian Cheſſ-board.*

reſiding in Italy, as his work ſeems to have appeared there firſt, drew up a book of directions for cheſs with a ſet of eighty-eight games, which diſplay conſiderable ingenuity. An edition of this book was publiſhed at Rome

Rome as early as 1524, and perhaps this was not the firſt. The figures of the cheſſ-men are given in this treatiſe; that of the king is vaſe-ſhaped, not unlike our modern cheſſ-king, but with two crowns; the queen is ſimilar in ſhape, but has one crown; the *delfino* (biſhop) differs from them in being ſmaller, and having no crown; the *cavallo* (knight) has the form of a horſe's head; the *rocho*, as it is ſtill called, is in the form of a tower, like our modern caſtle; and the *pedona* (pawn) reſembles a cone, with a knob at the apex. In England, the game of cheſs ſeems not to have been much in vogue during the ſixteenth century; it is, I believe, only alluded to once in Shakeſpeare, in a well-known ſcene in the Tempeſt, which may have been taken from a foreign ſtory, to which he owed his plot. The name of the game had been corrupted into *cheſts* or *cheaſts*. The game of cheſs was expreſſly diſcouraged by our "Solomon," James I., as "overwiſe and philoſophicke a folly." An attempt to bring it into more notice appears to have been made early in the reign of Elizabeth, under the patronage of lord Robert Dudley, afterwards the celebrated earl of Leiceſter, who diſplayed on many occaſions a taſte for refinements of this ſort. Inſtructions were again ſought from Italy through France; for there was printed and publiſhed in London, in the year 1562, a little volume dedicated to lord Robert Dudley, under the title of "The Pleaſaunt and wittie Playe of the Cheaſts reniewed, with Inſtructions both to Learn it Eaſily and to Play it Well; lately tranſlated out of Italian into French, and now ſet forth in Engliſhe by James Rowbotham." Rowbotham gives us ſome remarks of his own on the character of the game, and on the different forms of the cheſſ-men, which are not unintereſting. He ſays:—"As for the faſhion of the pieces, that is according to the fantaſie of the workman, which maketh them after this manner. Some make them lyke men, whereof the kynge is the higheſt, and the queene (whiche ſome name amaſone or ladye) is the next, bothe two crowned. The biſhoppes ſome name alphins, ſome fooles, and ſome name them princes, lyke as alſo they are next unto the kinge and the queene, other ſome cal them archers, and thei are faſhioned accordinge to the wyll of the workeman. The knights ſome call horſemen, and thei are men on horſe backe. The rookes ſome cal

cal elephantes, cariyng towres upon their backes, and men within the towres. The paunes ſome cal fote men, as they are ſouldiours on fote, cariyng ſome of them pykes, other ſome harquebuſhes, other ſome halbards, and other ſome the javelyn and target. Other makers of cheaſtmen make them of other faſhions; but the uſe thereof wyll cauſe perfect knowledge." "Our Engliſhe cheaſtmen," he adds, "are commonly made nothing like unto theſe foreſayde faſhions: to wit, the kynge is made the higheſt or longeſt; the queene is longeſt nexte unto him; the biſhoppe is made with a ſharpe toppe, and cloven in the middeſt not muche unlyke to a biſhop's myter; the knight hath his top cut aſloope, as thoughe beynge dubbed knight; the rooke is made lykeſt to the kynge and the queene, but that he is not ſo long; the paunes be made the ſmaleſt and leaſt of all, and thereby they may beſt be knowen."

At an early period the German tribes, as known to the Romans, were notoriouſly addicted to gambling. We are informed by Tacitus that a German in his time would riſk not only his property, but his own perſonal liberty, on a throw of the dice; and if he loſt, he ſubmitted patiently, as a point of honour, to be bound by his opponent, and carried to the market to be ſold into ſlavery. The Anglo-Saxons appear to have ſhared largely in this paſſion, and their habits of gambling are alluded to in different writers. A well-known writer of the firſt half of the twelfth century, Ordericus Vitalis, tells us that in his time even the prelates of the church were in the habit of playing at dice. A ſtill more celebrated writer, John of Saliſbury, who lived a little later in the ſame century, ſpeaks of dice-playing as being then extremely prevalent, and enumerates no leſs than ten different games, which he names in Latin, as follows:—*teſſera, calculus, tabula* (tables), *urio vel Dardana pugna* (Troy fight), *tricolus, ſenio* (ſice), *monarchus, orbiculi, taliorchus*, and *vulpes* (the game of fox).—"De Nugis Curialium," lib. i. c. 5. The ſort of eſtimation in which the game was then held is curiouſly illuſtrated by an anecdote in the Carlovingian romance of "Pariſe la Ducheſſe," where the king of the Hungarians wiſhes to contrive ſome means of teſting the real character (ariſtocratic or plebeian) of his foundling, young Hugues, not then known

to

to be the ſon of the ducheſs Pariſe. A party of robbers (which appears not to have been a ſpecially diſreputable avocation among the Hungarians of the romance) are employed, firſt to ſeduce the youth to "the cheſs and the dice," and afterwards to lead him againſt his will to a thieving expedition, the object of which was to rob the treaſury of the king, his godfather. They made a great hole in the wall, and thruſt Hugues through it. The youth beheld the heaps of gold and ſilver with aſtoniſhment, but, reſolved to touch none of the wealth he ſaw around him, his eyes fell upon a coffer on which lay three dice, "made and pointed in fine ivory"—

Garde ſor i. eſcrin, ſi a veu iij. dez,
Qui ſont de fin yvoire et fait et pointuré.—Parise la Duchesse, p. 94.

Hugues ſeized the three dice, thruſt them into his boſom, and, returning through the breach in the wall, told the robbers that he had carried away "the worth of four cities." When the robbers heard his explanation, they at once concluded, from the taſte he had diſplayed on this occaſion, that he was of gentle blood, and the king formed the ſame opinion on the reſult of this trial.

During the period of which we are now ſpeaking—the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—the uſe of dice had ſpread itſelf from the higheſt to the very loweſt claſs of the population. In its ſimpler form, that of the game of hazard, in which the chance of each player reſted on the mere throw of the dice, it was the common game of the low frequenters of the taverns,—that claſs which lived upon the vices of ſociety, and which was hardly looked upon as belonging to ſociety itſelf. The practice and reſults of gambling are frequently referred to in the popular writers of the later middle ages. People could no longer ſtake their perſonal liberty on the throw, but they played for everything they had—even for the clothes they carried upon them, on which the tavern-keepers, who ſeem to have acted alſo as pawnbrokers, readily lent ſmall ſums of money. We often read of men who got into the taverner's hands, playing as well as drinking themſelves naked; and in a well-known manuſcript of the beginning of the fourteenth century (MS. Reg. 2 B. vii. fol. 167 v°) we find an illumination which repreſents this proceſs very literally (cut No. 150).

150). One, who is evidently the more aged of the two players, is already perfectly naked, whilſt the other is reduced to his ſhirt. The illuminator appears to have intended to repreſent them as playing againſt each other till neither had anything left, like the two celebrated

No. 150. *Mediæval Gamblers.*

cats of Kilkenny, who ate one another up until nothing remained but their tails.

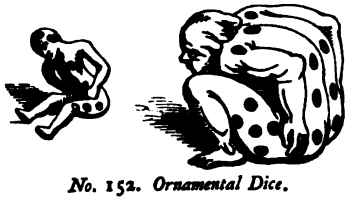
A burleſque parody on the church ſervice, written in Latin, perhaps as early as the thirteenth century, and printed in the "*Reliquiæ Antiquæ*," gives us rather a curious picture of tavern manners at that early period. The document is profane,—much more ſo than any of the parodies for which Hone was proſecuted; but it is only a moderate example of the general laxneſs in this reſpect which prevailed, even among the clergy, in what have been called "the ages of faith." This is entitled "The Maſs of the Drunkards," and contains a running alluſion to the throwing of the three dice, and to the loſs of clothing which followed; but it is full of Latin puns on the words of the church ſervice, and the greater part of it would not bear a tranſlation.

No. 151. *A Dice-Player.*

It will have been already remarked that, in all theſe anecdotes and ſtories, the ordinary number of the dice is three. This appears to have been the number uſed in moſt of the common games. In our cut No. 151, taken from the illumination in a copy of Jean de Vignay's tranſlation

tranſlation of Jacobus de Ceſſolis (MS. Reg. 19 C. xi.), the dice-player appears to hold but two dice in his hand; but this is to be laid ſolely to the charge of the draughtſman's want of ſkill, as the text tells us diſtinctly that he has three. We learn alſo from the text, that in the jug he holds in his right hand he carries his money, a late example of the uſe of earthen veſſels for this purpoſe. Two dice were, however, ſometimes uſed, eſpecially in the game of hazard, which appears to have been the great gambling game of the middle ages. Chaucer, in the "Pardoneres Tale," deſcribes the hazardours as playing with two dice. But in the curious ſcene in the "Towneley Myſteries" (p. 241), a work apparently contemporary with Chaucer, the tormentors, or executioners, are introduced throwing for Chriſt's unſeamed garment with three dice; the winner throws fifteen points, which could only be thrown with that number of dice.

It would not ſeem eaſy to give much ornamentation to the form of dice without deſtroying their utility, yet this has been attempted at various times, and not only in a very groteſque but in a ſimilar manner at very diſtant periods. This was done by giving the die the form of a man, ſo doubled up, that when thrown he fell in different poſitions, ſo as to ſhow the points uppermoſt, like an ordinary die. The ſmaller example repreſented in our cut No. 152 is Roman, and made of ſilver, and ſeveral Roman dice of the ſame form are known. It is ſingular that the ſame idea ſhould have preſented itſelf at a much later period, and, as far as we can judge, without any room for ſuppoſing that it was by imitation. Our ſecond example, which is larger than the other, and carved in box-wood, is of German work, and apparently as old as the beginning of the ſixteenth century. Both are now in the fine and extenſive collection of the late lord Londeſborough.



No. 152. *Ornamental Dice.*

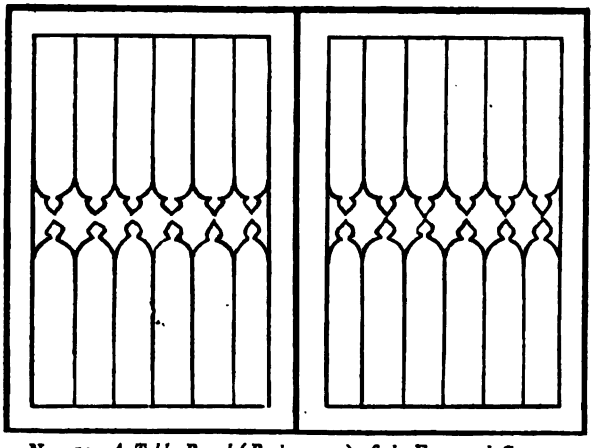
The ſimple throwing of the dice was rather an excitement than an amuſement; and at an early period people ſought the latter by a combination of the dice-throwing with ſome other ſyſtem of movements or calculations.

calculations. In this way, no doubt, originated the different games enumerated by John of Saliſbury, the moſt popular of which was that of tables (*tabula* or *tabulæ*). This game was in uſe among the Romans, and was in all probability borrowed from them by the Anglo-Saxons, among whom it was in great favour, and who called the game *tæfel* (evidently a mere adoption of the Latin name), and the dice *teoſelas* and *tæfel-ſtanas*. The former evidently repreſents the Latin *teſſellæ*, little cubes; and the latter ſeems to ſhow that the Anglo-Saxon dice were uſually made of ſtones. At a later period, the game of *tables*, uſed nearly always in the plural, is continually mentioned along with cheſs, as the two moſt faſhionable and ariſtocratic games in uſe. An early and richly illuminated manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum —perhaps of the beginning of the fourteenth century (MS. Harl. No. 1257)—furniſhes us with the figures of players at tables repreſented in our cut No. 153. The table, or board, with bars or points, is here clearly delineated, and we ſee that the players uſe both dice and men, or pieces—the latter round diſcs, like our modern draughtſmen. In another manuſcript, belonging to a rather later period of the fourteenth century (MS. Reg. 13 A. xviii. fol. 157, v°), we have a diagram which ſhows the board as compoſed of two tables, repreſented in our cut No. 154. It was probably this conſtruction which cauſed the name to be uſed in the plural; and as the Anglo-Saxons always uſed the name in the ſingular, as is the caſe alſo with John of Saliſbury in the twelfth century, while the plural is always uſed by the writers of a later date, we ſeem juſtified in concluding that the board uſed by the Anglo-Saxons and Anglo-Normans conſiſted of one table, like that repreſented in our cut No. 153, and that this was afterwards ſuperſeded by the double board. It is hardly neceſſary to point out to our readers that theſe two pictures of the boards ſhow us clearly that the mediæval game of tables was identical with our modern

No. 153. A Party at Tables.

modern backgammon, or rather, we ſhould perhaps ſay, that the game of backgammon, as now played, is one of the games played on the tables.

In the manuſcript laſt quoted (MS. Reg. 13 A. xviii.) the figure of the board is given to illuſtrate a very curious treatiſe on the game of tables,



No. 154. A Table-Board (Backgammon) of the Fourteenth Century.

written in Latin, in the fourteenth, or even perhaps in the thirteenth, century. The writer begins by informing us, that "there are many games at tables with dice, of which the firſt is the long game, and is the game of the Engliſh, and it is common, and played as follows" (*multi ſunt ludi ad tabulas cum taxillis, quorum primus eſt longus ludus, et eſt ludus Anglicorum, et eſt communis, et eſt talis naturæ*), meaning, I preſume, that it was the game uſually played in England. From the directions given for playing it, this game ſeems to have had a cloſe general reſemblance to backgammon. The writer of the treatiſe ſays that it was played with three dice, or with two dice, in which latter caſe they counted ſix at each throw for the third dice. In ſome of the other games deſcribed here, two dice only were uſed. We learn from this treatiſe the Engliſh terms for two modes of winning at the "long game" of tables—the one being called "lympoldyng," the other "lurchyng;" and a perſon loſing by the former was ſaid to be "lympolded." The writer

writer of this tract gives directions for playing at ſeveral other games of tables, and names ſome of them—ſuch as "paume carie," the Lombard's game (*ludus Lombardorum*), the "imperial," the "provincial," "baralie," and "faylys."

This game continued long to exiſt in England under its old name of *tables*. Thus Shakeſpeare:—

> *This is the ape of form, monſieur the nice,*
> *That, when he plays at* tables, *chides the dice.*—Love's Labour's Lost, Act v. Sc. 2.

The game appears at this time to have been a favourite one in the taverns and ordinaries. Thus, in a ſatirical tract in verſe, printed in 1600, we are told of—

> *An honeſt vicker, and a kind conſort,*
> *That to the alehouſe friendly would reſort,*
> *To have a game at* tables *now and than,*
> *Or drinke his pot as ſoone as any man.*—Letting of Humours Blood, 1660.

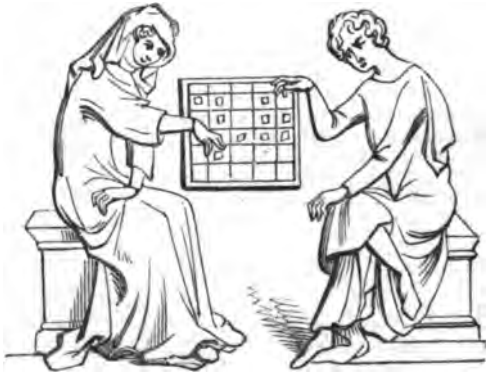
And one of the moſt popular of the ſatirical writers of that period, Dekker, in his "Lanthorne and Candle-Light," printed in 1620, ſays, punningly,—"And knowing that your moſt ſelected gallants are the onelye *table-men* that are plaid withal at ordinaries, into an ordinarye did he moſt gentleman-like convay himſelfe in ſtate." We learn from another tract of the ſame author, the "Gul's Hornbooke," that the table-men at this time were uſually painted.

We hardly perceive how the name of tables diſappeared. It ſeems probable that at this time the game of tables meant ſimply what we now call backgammon, a word the oldeſt mention of which, ſo far as I have been able to diſcover, occurs in Howell's "Familiar Letters," firſt printed in 1646. It is there written *baggamon*. In the "Compleat Gameſter," 1674, backgammon and ticktack occur as two diſtinct games at what would have formerly been called tables; and another ſimilar game was called Iriſh. Curiouſly enough, in the earlier part of the laſt century the game of backgammon was moſt celebrated as a favourite game among country parſons.

Another game exiſting in the middle ages, but much more rarely alluded to, was called *dames*, or ladies, and has ſtill preſerved that name

in

in French. In Engliſh, it was changed for that of *draughts*, derived no doubt from the circumſtance of *drawing* the men from one ſquare to another. Our cut No. 155, taken from a manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum of the beginning of the fourteenth century, known commonly as Queen Mary's Pſalter (MS. Reg. 2 B. vii.), repreſents a lady and



No. 155. *A Game at Draughts.*

gentleman playing at dames, or draughts, differing only from the character of the game at the preſent day in the circumſtance that the draughtſmen are evidently ſquare.

The mediæval games were gradually ſuperſeded by a new contrivance, that of playing-cards, which were introduced into Weſtern Europe in the courſe of the fourteenth century. It has been ſuggeſted that the idea of playing-cards was taken from cheſs—in fact, that they are the game of cheſs transferred to paper, and without a board, and they are generally underſtood to have been derived from the Eaſt. Cards, while they poſſeſſed ſome of the characteriſtics of cheſs, preſented the ſame mixture of chance and ſkill which diſtinguiſhed the game of tables. An Italian writer, probably of the latter part of the fifteenth century, named Cavelluzzo, author of a hiſtory of Viterbo, ſtates that "in the year 1379 was brought into Viterbo the game of cards, which comes from the country of the Saracens, and is with them called *naib*." Cards are ſtill in Spaniſh called

called *naipes*, which is ſaid to be derived from the Arabic: but they were certainly known in the weſt of Europe before the date given by Cavelluzzo. Our cut No. 156 is taken from a very fine manuſcript of the romance of "Meliadus," in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Addit. 12,228, fol. 313, v°), which was written apparently in the ſouth of France between the years 1330 and 1350; it repreſents a royal party playing at cards, which was therefore conſidered at that time as the amuſement of the higheſt claſſes of ſociety. They are, however, firſt diſtinctly alluded to in

No. 156. *Cards in the Fourteenth Century.*

hiſtory in the year 1393. In that year Charles VI. of France was labouring under a viſitation of inſanity; and we find in the accounts of his treaſurer, Charles Poupart, an entry to the following effect:—"Given to Jacquemin Gringonneur, painter, for three packs of cards, gilt and diverſly coloured, and ornamented with ſeveral devices, to deliver to the lord the king for his amuſement, fifty-ſix ſols of Paris." It is clear from this entry that the game of cards was then tolerably well known in France,

France, and that it was by no means new, though it was evidently not a common game, and the cards had to be made by a painter—that is, as I ſuppoſe, an illuminator of manuſcripts. We find as yet no alluſion to them in England; and it is remarkable that neither Chaucer, nor any of the numerous writers of his and the following age, ever ſpeak of them. An illuminated manuſcript of apparently the earlier part of the fifteenth century, perhaps of Flemiſh workmanſhip (it contains a copy of Raoul de Preſle's French tranſlation of St. Auguſtine's "Civitas Dei"), preſents us with another card-party, which we give in our cut No. 157. Three

No. 157. *Cards in the Fifteenth Century.*

perſons are here engaged in the game, two of whom are ladies. After the date at which three packs of cards were made for the amuſement of the lunatic king, the game of cards ſeems ſoon to have become common in France; for leſs than four years later—on the 22nd of January, 1397—the provoſt of Paris conſidered it neceſſary to publiſh an edict, forbidding working people to play at tennis, bowls, dice, *cards*, or ninepins, on working days. By one of the acts of the ſynod of Langres, in 1404, the clergy

clergy were expreſſly forbidden to play at cards. Theſe had now made their way into Germany, and had become ſo popular there, that early in the fifteenth century card-making had become a regular trade.

In England, in the third year of the reign of Edward IV. (1463), the importation of playing-cards, probably from Germany, was forbidden, among other things, by act of parliament; and as that act is underſtood to have been called for by the Engliſh manufacturers, who ſuffered by the foreign trade, it can hardly be doubted that cards were then manufactured in England on a rather extenſive ſcale. Cards had then, indeed, evidently become very popular in England; and only twenty years afterwards they are ſpoken of as the common Chriſtmas game, for Margery Paſton wrote as follows to her huſband, John Paſton, on the 24th of December in 1483:—"Pleaſe it you to weet (know) that I ſent your eldeſt ſon John to my lady Morley, to have knowledge of what ſports were uſed in her houſe in the Chriſtmas next following after the deceaſe of my lord her huſband; and ſhe ſaid that there were none diſguiſings, nor harpings, nor luting, nor ſinging, nor none loud diſports, but playing at the tables, and the cheſs, and *cards*—ſuch diſports ſhe gave her folks leave to play, and none other. . . . . I ſent your younger ſon to the lady Stapleton, and ſhe ſaid according to my lady Morley's ſaying in that, and as ſhe had ſeen uſed in places of worſhip (*gentlemen's houſes*) there as ſhe had been."

From this time the mention of cards becomes frequent. They formed the common amuſement in the courts of England and Scotland under the reigns of Henry VII. and James IV.; and it is recorded that when the latter monarch paid his firſt viſit to his affianced bride, the young princeſs Margaret of England, "he founde the quene playing at the cardes."

It muſt not be forgotten that it is partly to the uſe of playing cards that we owe the invention which has been juſtly regarded as one of the greateſt benefits granted to mankind. The firſt cards, as we have ſeen, were painted with the hand. They were ſubſequently made more rapidly by a proceſs called ſtencilling—that is, by cutting the rude forms through a piece of paſteboard, parchment, or thin metal, which, placed on

on the cardboard intended to receive the impreſſion, was bruſhed over with ink or colour, which paſſed through the cut out lines, and imparted the figure to the material beneath. A further improvement was made by cutting the figures on blocks of wood, and literally printing them on the cards. Theſe card-blocks are ſuppoſed to have given the firſt idea of wood-engraving. When people ſaw the effects of cutting the figures of the cards upon blocks, they began to cut figures of ſaints on blocks in the ſame manner, and then applied the method to other ſubjects, cutting in like manner the few words of neceſſary explanation. This practice further expanded itſelf into what are called block-books, conſiſting of pictorial ſubjects, with copious explanatory text. Some one at length hit upon the idea of cutting the pages of a regular book on ſo many blocks of wood, and taking impreſſions on paper or vellum, inſtead of writing the manuſcript; and this plan was ſoon further improved by cutting letters or words on ſeparate pieces of wood, and ſetting them up together to form pages. The wood was ſubſequently ſuperſeded by metal. And thus originated the noble art of PRINTING.

CHAPTER XI.

DOMESTIC AMUSEMENTS AFTER DINNER.—THE CHAMBER AND ITS FURNITURE.—PET ANIMALS.—OCCUPATIONS AND MANNERS OF THE LADIES.—SUPPER.—CANDLES, LAMPS, AND LANTERNS.

WHEN the dinner was over, and hands waſhed, a drink was ſerved round, and then the ladies left the table, and went to their chambers or to the garden or fields, to ſeek their own amuſements, which conſiſted frequently of dancing, in which they were often joined by the younger of the male portion of the houſehold, while the others remained drinking. They ſeem often to have gone to drink in another apartment, or ſecondary hall, perhaps in the parlour. In the romance of "La Violette" (p. 159), we read of the father of a family going to ſleep after dinner. In the ſame romance (p. 152), the young ladies and gentlemen of a noble houſehold are deſcribed as ſpreading themſelves over the caſtle, to amuſe themſelves, attended by minſtrels with muſic. From other romances we find that this amuſement conſiſted often in dancing, and that the ladies ſometimes ſang for themſelves, inſtead of having minſtrels. We find theſe amuſements alluded to in the fabliaux and romances of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In one of the fabliaux, a knight having been received hoſpitably at a feudal caſtle, after dinner they waſh, and drink round, and then they go to dance—

Ses mains
Lava, et puis l'autre gent toute,
Et puis ſe burent tout à route,
Et por l'amor dou chevalier
Se vont treſtuit apparillier
De faire karoles et dances.

In the early Engliſh romance of "Sir Degrevant," after dinner the ladies go

go to their chambers to arrange themſelves, and then ſome proceed to amuſe themſelves in the garden—

When the lordys were drawin (withdrawn),
Ladyes ryſen, was not to leyn,
And wenttен to chaumbur ageyne,
Anon thei hom dythus (dight);
Dame Mildore and hyr may (maid)
Went to the orcherd to play.

In the romance of "Lanfal," we have the ſame circumſtance of dancing after dinner:—

And after mete Syr Gaweyn,
Sir Gyeryes and Agrafayn,
And Syr Launfal alſo,
Went to daunce upon the grene,
Unther the tour ther lay the quene,
Wyth ſyxty ladyes and mo.
. . . . . .
They hadde menſtrayles (minstrels) *of moch honours,*
Fydelers, ſytolyrs, and trompours,
And elles hyt were unryght;
Ther they playde, for ſothe to ſay,
After mete the ſomerys day,
Alle what (till) *hyt was neygh nyght.*

It was only on extraordinary occaſions, however, that the dancing or walking in the garden continued all day. In the romance of "Blonde of Oxford," the dinner-party quit the table, to wander in the fields and foreſts round the caſtle, and the young hero of the ſtory, on their return thence, goes to play in the chambers with the ladies:—

Après manger lavent leurs mains,
Puis ſ'en vont juer, qui ains ains,
Ou en forès ou en rivieres,
Ou en deduis d'autres manieres.
Jehans au quel que il veut va,
Et quant il revent ſouvant va
Jouer és chambres la conteſſe
O les dames.

There were two claſſes of dances in the middle ages, the domeſtic dances, and the dances of the jougleurs or minſtrels. After the firſt cruſades,

cruſades, the weſtern jougleurs had adopted many of the practices of their brethren in the eaſt, and, among others, it is evident from many alluſions in old writers that they had brought weſtward that of the "almehs," or eaſtern dancing-girls. Theſe dances formed, like the vulgar fabliaux, a part of the jougleur's budget of repreſentations, and were moſtly, like thoſe, groſs and indecent. The other claſs of dances were of a ſimpler character,—the domeſtic dances, which conſiſted chiefly of the *carole*, in which ladies and gentlemen, alternately, held by each other's hands and danced in a circle. This mode of dance prevailed ſo generally, that the word *carole* became uſed as a general term for a dance, and *caroler*, to

No. 158. *Dancing the Carole.*

carole, was equivalent with *to dance*. The accompanying cut (No. 158), taken from a manuſcript of the Roman de Triſtan, of the fourteenth century, in the National Library at Paris (No. 6956), repreſents a party dancing the carole to the muſic of pipe and tabor. A dance of another deſcription is repreſented in our next cut (No. 159), taken from a manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Reg. 2 B. vii. fol. 174), alſo of the fourteenth century. Here the minſtrels themſelves appear to be joining in the ſaltitation which they inſpire. It is a good illuſtration of the ſcene deſcribed from the romance of "La Violette." On feſtive occaſions this dancing often continued till ſupper-time.

Other

Other quieter games were purſued in the chambers. Among theſe the moſt dignified was cheſs, after which came tables, draughts, and, in the fourteenth century, cards. Sometimes, as deſcribed in the preceding chapter, they played at ſedentary games, ſuch as cheſs and tables; or at

No. 159. *A Mediæval Dance.*

diverſions of a ſtill more frolicſome character. Theſe latter ſeem to have been moſt in vogue in the evening after ſupper. The author of the "Ménagier de Paris," written about the year 1393 (tom. i. p. 71), deſcribes the ladies as playing, in an evening, at games named *bric*, and *qui fery?* (who ſtruck?), and *pince merille*, and *tiers*, and others. The firſt of theſe games is mentioned about a century and a half earlier by the *trouvère* Rutebeuf, and by other mediæval writers; but all we ſeem to know of it is, that the players were ſeated, apparently on the ground, and that one of them was furniſhed with a rod or ſtick. We know leſs ſtill of *pince merille*. *Qui fery?* is evidently the game which was, at a later period, called hot-cockles; and *tiers* is underſtood to be the game now called blindman's buff. Theſe, and other games, are not unfrequently repreſented in the fanciful drawings in the margins of mediæval illuminated manuſcripts; but as no names or deſcriptions are given with theſe drawings, it is often very difficult to identify them. Our cut (No. 160), which is given by Strutt, from a manuſcript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, is one of ſeveral ſubjects repreſenting the game of blindman's buff, or, as it was formerly called in England, *hoodman-blind*, becauſe the perſon blinded had his eyes covered with a hood. It is here

here played by females, but, in other illuminations, or drawings, the players are boys or men—the latter plainly indicated by their beards. The word hoodman-blind is not found at an earlier period than the Elizabethan age, yet this name, from its alluſion to the coſtume, was

No. 160. *The Game of Hoodman-blind.*

evidently older. A perſonage in Shakeſpeare (Hamlet, Act iii. Scene 4) aſks—

What devil was 't
That thus hath cozen'd you at hoodman-blind?

Hot-cockles ſeems formerly to have been a very favourite game. One of

No. 161. *A Game at Hot-cockles.*

the players was blindfolded, and knelt down, with his face on the knee of another, and his hand held out flat behind him; the other players in turn ſtruck him on the hand, and he was obliged to gueſs at the name of the

the ſtriker, who, if he gueſſed right, was compelled to take his place. A part of the joke appears to have conſiſted in the hardneſs of the blows. Our cut (No. 161), from the Bodleian manuſcript (which was written in 1344), is evidently intended to repreſent a party of females playing at hot-cockles, though the damſel who plays the principal part is not blind-folded, and ſhe is touched on the back, and not on the hand. Our next cut (No. 162), which repreſents a party of ſhepherds and ſhepherdeſſes engaged in the ſame game, is taken from a piece of Flemiſh tapeſtry, of the fifteenth century, which is at preſent to be ſeen in the South Ken-

No. 162. *Shepherds and Shepherdeſſes.*

ſington Muſeum. Alluſions to this game are found in the writers of the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries. Among the "commendatory verſes" to the ſecond edition of "Gondibert" (by William Davenant), printed in 1653, is the following rather curious piece of wit, which explains itſelf, and is, at the ſame time, an extremely good deſcription of this game:—

THE POET'S HOT-COCKLES.

Thus poets, paſſing time away,
Like children at hot-cockles *play;*
All ſtrike by turn, and Will is ſtrook
(*And he lies down that writes a book*).

Have

Have at thee, Will, for now I come,
Spread thy hand faire upon thy bomb;
For thy much inſolence, bold bard,
And little ſenſe I ſtrike thus hard.
"Whoſe hand was that?" "'Twas Jaſpar Mayne."
"Nay, there you're out; lie down again."
With Gondibert, prepare, and all
See where the doctor comes to maul
The author's hand, 'twill make him reel;
No, Will lies ſtill, and does not feel.
That book's ſo light, 'tis all one whether
You ſtrike with that or with a feather.
But room for one, new come to town,
That ſtrikes ſo hard, he'll knock him down;
The hand he knows, ſince it the place
Has toucht more tender than his face;
Important ſheriff, now thou lyſt down,
We'll kiſs thy hands, and clap our own.

The game of hot-cockles has only become obſolete in recent times, if it be even now quite out of uſe. Moſt readers will remember the paſſage in Gay's "Paſtorals:"—

As at hot-cockles *once I laid me down,*
And felt the weighty hand of many a clown,
Buxoma gave a gentle tap, and I
Quick roſe, and read ſoft miſchief in her eye.

This paſſage is aptly illuſtrated by the cut from the tapeſtry. The ſame Bodleian manuſcript gives us a playful group, reproduced in our cut No. 163, which Strutt believes to be the game called, in more modern times, "frog-in-the-middle." One of the party, who played frog, ſat on the ground, while his comrades ſurrounded and buffeted him, until he could catch and hold one of them, who then had to take his place. In our cut, the players are females.

Games of queſtions and commands, and of forfeits, were alſo common in mediæval ſociety. Among the poems of Baudouin and Jean de Condé (poets of the thirteenth century), we have a deſcription of a game of this kind. "One time," we are told, "there was play among ladies and damſels; there were among them both clever and handſome; they took up many games, until, at laſt, they elected a queen to play at *roy-qui-ne-*

ment

ment (the king who does not lie); ſhe, whom they choſe, was clever at commands and at queſtions:"—

Une foi ierent en doſnoi
Entre dames et damoiſelles;
De cointes i ot et de belles.
De pluſieurs deduits ſ'entremiſtrent,
Et tant c'une royne fiſtrent
Pour jouer au roy-qui-ne-ment.
Ele ſ'en ſavoit finement
Entremettre de commander
Et de demandes demander.—Barbazan Fabliaux, tom. i. p. 100.

The aim of the queſtions was, of courſe, to provoke anſwers which would excite mirth; and the ſequel of the ſtory ſhows the great want of delicacy

No. 163. *The Game of Frog-in-the-Middle.*

which prevailed in mediæval ſociety. Another ſort of amuſement was furniſhed, by what may be called games of chance; in which the players, in turn, drew a character at hazard. Theſe characters were generally written in verſe, in burleſque and often very coarſe language, and ſeveral ſets of them have been preſerved in old manuſcripts. They conſiſt of a ſeries of alternate good and bad characters, ſometimes only deſigned for females, but at others for women and men: two of theſe ſets (printed in my "Anecdota Literaria") were written in England; one, of the thirteenth century, in Anglo-Norman, the other, of the fifteenth century, in Engliſh. From theſe we learn that the game, in England, was called Rageman, or Ragman, and that the verſes, deſcribing the characters, were

written on a roll called Ragman's Roll, and had ſtrings attached to them, by which each perſon drew his or her chance. The Engliſh ſet has a ſhort preface, in which the author addreſſes himſelf to the ladies, for whoſe ſpecial uſe it was compiled:—

My ladyes and my maiſtreſſes echone,
Lyke hit unto your humbylle wommanhede
Reſave in gré (good part) *of my ſympille perſone*
This rolle, which withouten any drede
Kynge Ragman me bad meſoure in brede,
And criſtyned yt the meroure of your chaunce;
Draweth a ſtrynge, and that ſhal ſtreight yow leyde
Unto the verry path of your governaunce—

i. e. it will tell you exactly how you behave yourſelf, what is your character. This game is alluded to by the poet Gower in the "Confeſſio Amantis:"—

Venus, whiche ſtant withoute lawe,
In non certeyne, but as men drawe
Of Ragemon *upon the chaunce,*
Sche leyeth no peys (weight) *in the balaunce.*

The ragman's roll, when rolled up for uſe, would preſent a confuſed maſs of ſtrings hanging from it, probably with bits of wax at the end, from which the drawer had to ſelect one. This game poſſeſſes a peculiar hiſtorical intereſt. When the Scottiſh nobles and chieftains acknowledged their dependence on the Engliſh crown in the reign of Edward I., the deed by which they made this acknowledgment, having all their ſeals hung to it, preſented, when rolled up, much the appearance of the roll uſed in this game; and hence, no doubt, they gave it in deriſion the name of the *Ragman's Roll.* Afterwards it became the cuſtom to call any roll with many ſignatures, or any long catalogue, the various headings of which were perhaps marked by ſtrings, by the ſame name. This game of chance or fortune was continued, under other names, to a late period. In the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries the burleſque characters were often inſcribed on the back of roundels, which were no doubt dealt round to the company like cards, with the inſcribed ſide downwards.

Sometimes the ladies and young men indulged within doors in more active

active games—among which we may mention especially different games with the ball, and also, perhaps, the whipping-top. We learn from many sources that hand-ball was from a very early period a favourite recreation with the youth of both sexes. It is a subject not unfrequently met with in the marginal drawings of mediæval manuscripts. The annexed example (cut No. 164), from MS. Harl. No. 6563, represents apparently two ladies playing with a ball. In other instances, a lady and a gentleman are similarly occupied. Our cut No. 165 is taken from one of the carvings of the *miserere* seats in Gloucester cathedral. The long tails of the hoods belong to the costume of the latter part of the fourteenth century. The whipping-top was also a plaything of considerable antiquity; I think it may be traced to the Anglo-Saxon period. Our

No. 164. *Ball-Playing.*

No. 165. *A Game at Ball.*

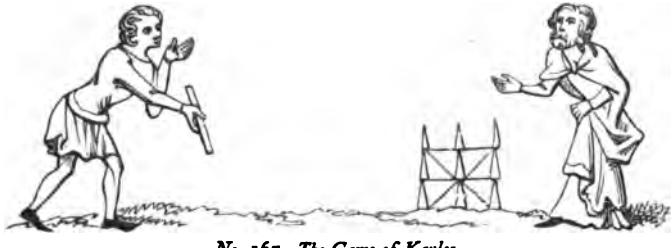
cut No. 166 is taken from one of the marginal drawings of a well-known manuscript in the British Museum (MS. Reg. 2 B. vii.) of the beginning of the fourteenth century. It may be remarked that the knots on the lashes merely mark a conventional manner of representing a whip, for every boy knows that a knotted whip would not do for a top. Mediæval art was full of such conventionalities.

Most

Moſt of theſe recreations of young people in the middle ages were gradually left to a ſtill younger age, and became children's games, and of theſe the margins of the illuminated manuſcripts furniſh abundant examples. One of theſe (taken from the margin of the Royal MS.,

No. 166. *Whipping-Top.*

10 E. iv., of the fourteenth century) will be ſufficient for the preſent occaſion. A favourite game, during at leaſt the later periods of the middle ages, was that which is now called nine-pins. The French gave it the name *quilles*, which in our language was corrupted into *keyles* and



No. 167. *The Game of Kayles.*

kayles. The lad in our cut (No. 167) is not, as at preſent, bowling at the pins, but throwing with a ſtick, a form of the game which was called in French the *jeu de quilles à baſton*, and in Engliſh *club-kayles*. Money was apparently played for, and the game was looked upon as belonging to the ſame claſs as hazard. In a ſeries of metrical counſels to appren-

tices,

tices, compiled in the fifteenth century, and printed in the "Reliquiæ Antiquæ," ii. 223, they are recommended to—

Excheue alleweȝ eville company,
Caylyn, carding, and baſerdy.

When no gaiety was going on, the ladies of the houſehold were employed in occupations of a more uſeful deſcription, among which the principal were ſpinning, weaving, knitting, embroidering, and ſewing. Almoſt everything of this kind was done at home at the period of which we are now ſpeaking, and equally in the feudal caſtle or manor, and in the houſe of the ſubſtantial burgher, the female part of the family ſpent a great part of their time in different kinds of work in the chambers of the lady of the houſehold. Such work is alluded to in mediæval writers, from time to time, and we find it repreſented in illuminated manuſcripts, but not ſo frequently as ſome of the other domeſtic ſcenes. In the romance of the "Death of Garin le Loherain," when count Fromont viſited the chamber of fair Beatrice, he found her occupied in ſewing a very beautiful *chainſil*, or petticoat:—

Vint en la chambre à la bele Beatrix;
Ele coſoit un molt riche chainſil.—Mort de Garin, p. 10.

In the romance of "La Violette," the daughter of the burgher, in whoſe houſe the count Girard is lodged, is deſcribed as being "one day ſeated in her father's chambers working a ſtole and amice in ſilk and gold, very ſkilfully, and ſhe made in it, with care, many a little croſs and many a ſtar, ſinging all the while a *chanſon-à-toile*," meaning, it is ſuppoſed, a ſong of a grave meaſure, compoſed for the purpoſe of being ſung by ladies when weaving:—

I. jor ſiſt es chambres ſon pere,
Une eſtole et i. amit pere
De ſoie et d'or molt ſoutilment,
Si i ſait ententevement
Mainte croiſete et mainte eſtoile,
Et diſt ceſte chanchon à toile.—Roman de la Violette, p. 113.

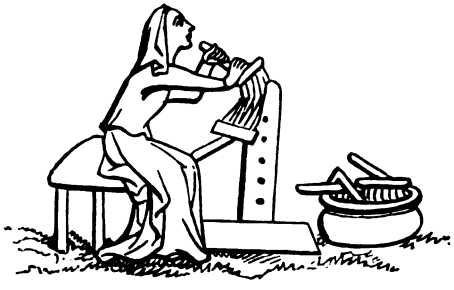
In one of Rutebeuf's fabliaux, a woman makes excuſe for being up late at

at night that ſhe was anxious to finiſh a piece of linen cloth ſhe was weaving:—

Sire, fet-elle, il me faut traimer
A une toile que je fais.

And in another fabliau, that of "Guillaume au Faucon," a young "bacheler"

No. 168. *Embroidery.*



No. 169. *A Lady Carding.*

entering ſuddenly the chamber of the ladies, finds them all occupied in embroidering a piece of ſilk with the enſigns of the lord of the caſtle. Embroidery, indeed, was a favourite occupation: a lady thus employed

No. 170. *A Lady Spinning.*

is repreſented in our cut No. 168, taken from a richly illuminated manuſcript of the fourteenth century, in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Reg. 2 B. vii.) The ladies, too, not only made up the cloths into dreſſes and articles

articles of other kinds, but they were extenſively employed in the various proceſſes of making the cloth itſelf. Our cut No. 169, taken from a manuſcript of about the ſame period (MS. Reg. 10 E. iv.), repreſents the proceſs of carding the wool; and the ſame manuſcript furniſhes us with another cut (No. 170), in which a lady appears in the employment of ſpinning it into yarn. Our next cut (No. 171), taken from an illumination in an early French tranſlation of the Metamorphoſes of Ovid (in the National Library, MS. 6986), repreſents three ladies (intended for the three Fates) employed in theſe domeſtic occupations, and will give us a notion of the implements they uſed.

No. 171. *The Three Fates.*

Domeſtic animals, particularly dogs and birds, were favourite companions of the ladies in their chambers. A favourite falcon had frequently its "perche" in a corner of the chamber; and in the illuminations we ſometimes ſee the lady ſeated with the bird on her wriſt. Birds in cages are alſo not unfrequently alluded to through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the romance of "La Violette" a tame lark plays rather an important part in the ſtory. Our cut No. 172, where we ſee two birds in a cage together, and which is curious for the form of the cage, is given by Willemin from a manuſcript of the fourteenth century at Paris. The hawk, though uſually kept only for hunting, ſometimes became a pet, and perſons carried their hawks on the fiſt even in ſocial parties within doors. The jay is ſpoken of as a cage-bird. The parrot, under the name of *papejay*, *popinjay*, or *papingay*, is alſo often ſpoken of during the middle ages, although, in all probability, it was very rare. The favourite talking-bird was the pie, or magpie, which often plays a very remarkable

No. 172. *Birds Encaged.*

remarkable part in mediæval ſtories. The aptneſs of this bird for imitation led to an exaggerated eſtimate of its powers, and it is frequently made to give information to the huſband of the weakneſſes of his wife. Several mediæval ſtories turn upon this ſuppoſed quality. The good chevalier de la Tour-Landry, in his book of counſels to his daughters, compoſed in the ſecond half of the fourteenth century, tells a ſtory of a magpie as a warning of the danger of indulging in gluttony. "I will tell you," he ſays, "a ſtory in regard to women who eat dainty morſels in the abſence of their lords. There was a lady who had a pie in a cage, which talked of everything which it ſaw done. Now it happened that the lord of the houſehold preſerved a large eel in a pond, and kept it very carefully, in order to give it to ſome of his lords or of his friends, in caſe they ſhould viſit him. So it happened that the lady ſaid to her female attendant that it would be good to eat the great eel, and accordingly they eat it, and agreed that they would tell their lord that the otter had eaten it. And when the lord returned, the pie began to ſay to him, 'My lord, my lady has eaten the eel.' Then the lord went to his pond, and miſſed his eel; and he went into the houſe, and aſked his wife what had become of it. She thought to excuſe herſelf eaſily, but he ſaid that he knew all about it, and that the pie had told him. The reſult was that there was great quarrelling and trouble in the houſe; but when the lord was gone away, the lady and her female attendant went to the pie, and plucked all the feathers from his head, ſaying, 'You told about the eel.' And ſo the poor pie was quite bald. But from that time forward, when it ſaw any people who were bald or had large foreheads, the pie ſaid to them, 'Ah! you told about the eel!' And this is a good example how no woman ought to eat any choice morſel by gluttony without the knowledge of her lord, unleſs it be to give it to people of honour; for this lady was afterwards mocked and jeered for eating the eel, through the pie which complained of it." The reader will recogniſe in this the origin of a much more modern ſtory.

One of the ſtories in the celebrated mediæval collection, entitled "The Seven Sages," alſo turns upon the talkative qualities of this bird. There was a burgher who had a pie which, on being queſtioned, related whatever

whatever it had ſeen, for it ſpoke uncommonly well the language of the people. Now the burgher's wife was a good-for-nothing woman, and as ſoon as her huſband went from home about buſineſs, ſhe ſent for her friend out of the town; but the pie, which was a great favourite of the burgher, told him all the goings on when he returned, and the huſband knew that it always ſpoke the truth. So he became acquainted with his wife's conduct. One day the burgher went from home, and told his wife he ſhould not return that night, and ſhe immediately ſent for her friend; but he was afraid to enter, for "the pie was hung up in his cage on a high perch in the middle of the porch of the houſe." Encouraged, however, by the lady, the friend ventured in, and paſſed through the hall to the chamber. The pie, which ſaw him paſs, and knew him well on account of ſome tricks he had played upon it, called out, "Ah, ſir! you who are in the chamber there, why don't you pay your viſits when the maſter is at home?" It ſaid no more all the day, but the lady ſet her wits to work for a ſtratagem to avert the danger. So when night came, ſhe called her chamber-maiden, and gave her a great jug full of water, and a lighted candle, and a wooden mallet, and about midnight the maiden mounted on the top of the houſe, and began to beat with the mallet on the laths, and from time to time ſhowed the light through the crevices, and threw the water right down upon the pie till the bird was wet all over. Next morning the huſband came home, and began to queſtion his pie. "Sir," it ſaid, "my lady's friend has been here, and ſtayed all night, and is only juſt gone away. I ſaw him go." Then the huſband was very angry, and was going to quarrel with his wife, but the pie went on—"Sir, it has thundered and lightened all night, and the rain was ſo heavy that I have been wet through." "Nay," ſaid the huſband, "it has been fine all night, without rain or ſtorm." "You ſee," ſaid the crafty dame, "you ſee how much your bird is to be believed. Why ſhould you put more faith in him when he tells tales about me, than when he talks ſo knowingly about the weather?" Then the burgher thought he had been deceived, and turning his wrath upon the pie, drew it from the cage and twiſted its neck; but he had no ſooner done ſo than, looking up, he ſaw how the laths had been deranged. So he got a

ladder, mounted on the roof, and diſcovered the whole myſtery. If, ſays the ſtory, he had not been ſo haſty, the life of his bird would have been ſaved. In the Engliſh verſion of this ſeries of tales, printed by Weber, the pie's cage is made to hang in the hall :—

The burgeis hadde a pie in his halle,
That couthe telle tales alle
Apertlich (openly), *in French langage,*
And heng in a faire cage.

In the other Engliſh verſion, edited by the author of this work for the Percy Society, the bird is ſaid to have been, not a pie, but a "popynjay," or parrot, and there are other variations in it which ſhow that it had been taken more directly from the Oriental original, in which, as might be expected, the bird is a parrot.

Among the animals mentioned as pets we ſometimes find monkeys.

No. 173. *Lady and Dog.*

One of the Latin ſtories in the collection printed by the Percy Society, tells how a ruſtic, entering the hall of a certain nobleman, ſeeing a monkey dreſſed in the ſame ſuit as the nobleman's family, and ſuppoſing, as its back was turned, that it was one of his ſons, began to addreſs it with all ſuitable reverence; but when he ſaw that it was only a monkey chattering at him, he exclaimed, "A curſe upon you! I thought you had been Jenkin, my lord's ſon."* The favourite quadruped, however, has always been the dog, of which ſeveral kinds are mentioned as lady's pets. Chaucer tells us of his prioreſs,—

Of ſmale houndes hadde ſche, that ſche fedde
With roſtud fleiſſh and mylk and waſtel breed.—Cant. Tales, l. 147.

Our cut No. 173, from a manuſcript of the St. Graal, in the Britiſh

* The Latin original of this story is so quaint that it deserves to be given *ipſiſſimis verbis*. "*De ruſtico et ſimia.* Quidam aulam cujusdam nobilis intrans, videnſque simiam de secta filiorum vestitum, quia dorsum ad eum habebat, filium credidit esse domini, cui cum reverentia qua debuit loqueretur. Invenit esse simiam super eum cachinnantem, cui ille, 'Maledicaris!' inquit, 'credidi quod fuisses Jankyn filius domini mei.'"—Latin Stories, p. 122.

Muſeum

Muſeum (MS. Addit. No. 10,293, fol. 31), written in the thirteenth century, repreſents a queen ſeated in converſation, with her dog in her lap. The next cut (No. 174), from an illumination in the intereſting manuſcript of the Roman de Meliadus in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Addit. 12,228, fol. 310), belonging to the latter half of the fourteenth century (the reign of our Edward III.), repreſents the interior of a chamber, with two little dogs gamboling about. In the ſingular work

No. 174. *Interior of a Chamber.*

on domeſtic economy; entitled the "Ménagier de Paris," written about the year 1393, the lady of the houſehold is particularly recommended to think of the "chamber beaſts," ſuch as little dogs, the "chamber birds," &c., inasmuch as theſe creatures, not having the gift of ſpeech, could not aſk for themſelves.* I have printed in the "Reliquiæ Antiquæ" a curious Anglo-Norman poem, of the beginning of the fourteenth century, written as a ſatire on the ladies of the time, who were too fond of their dogs, and fed them delicately, while the ſervants were left to ſhort commons (Reliq. Antiq. vol. i. p. 155). Cats are ſeldom mentioned as pets,

* *Item*, que par la dicte dame Agnes vous faciez principalment et diligemment penser de vos bestes de chambre, comme petis chiennés, oiselets de chambre; et aussi la beguine et vous pensez des autres oiseauls domeschés, car ils ne pevent parler, et pour ce vous devez parler et penser pour eulx, se vous en avez.—(Ménagier de Paris, ii. 62.)

except

except of ill-famed old women. There was a prejudice againſt them in the middle ages, and they were joined in people's imagination with witchcraft, and with other diabolical agencies. The accompanying group of an old lady and her cats (cut No. 175) is taken from a carving on one of the *miſereres* in the church of Minſter, in the Iſle of Thanet. Curiouſly enough, the Engliſh "Rule of Nuns," of the earlier half of the thirteenth century, forbids the nuns to keep any "beaſt" but a cat.

No. 175. *The Lady and her Cats.*

The chamber was, as might be expected, more comfortably furniſhed than the hall. The walls were covered with curtains, or tapeſtry, whence this apartment is frequently termed in the fabliaux and romances the *chambre encortinée*. The ſtory of a fabliau printed in my "Anecdota Literaria" turns upon the facility with which a perſon might be concealed behind the "curtains" of the chamber. Beſides a bench or ſtool to ſit upon, there was uſually a chair in the chamber. In the fabliau of the Bouchier d'Abbeville, the prieſt's lady, when ſhe riſes out of bed to dreſs, is repreſented as placing herſelf in a chair—

En le caiere ſ'eſt aſſiſe.

In the early Engliſh romance of "Horn," the lady, receiving a gentleman into her chamber, gives him a rich chair which would hold ſeven people, and which is covered, in true regal ſtyle, with a baldekin:—

The miri maiden, alſo ſone
As Hatherof into chamber come,
Sche wend (thought) *that it were Horn;*
A riche cheir was undon,
That ſeiven might ſit theron,
In ſwiche craft y-corn (chosen).
. . . . . .
A baudekin theron was ſpred,
Thider the maiden hadde him led
To ſiten hir beforn,
Frout (fruit) *and ſpices ſche him bede,*
Wine to drink, wite and rede,
Bothe of coppe and horn.

The

The chamber was eſpecially diſtinguiſhed by its fireplace and chimney. The form of the mediæval fireplace is well-known from the numerous examples ſtill remaining in the chambers of our old caſtles and manſion houſes. The fire was made on the hearth, upon iron dogs, which had often very ornamental forms. The old romances frequently repreſent people ſitting round the chamber fireplace to hold private converſation. It was here alſo that the heads of the family, or individual members of it in their own chambers, aſſembled in the evening when no ceremonious feaſting was going on. In a ſtory in the text of the "Seven Sages," printed by Weber, a young married woman is repreſented ſitting in the evening with her lord by the chamber fireſide, attended by their ſquire, and playing with a dog—

The yonge levedi and hire lora
Sete an even by the fer (fire);
Biforen hem ſtod here ſquier.
. . . . .
The bichche lai in hire barm (bosom).—Weber, iii. 71.

In "Gautier d'Aupais," when the young damſel ſends for her mother, her meſſenger finds the old lady ſitting on a richly-worked counterpoint by a coal fire (probably of charcoal)—

Sor une coutepointe ouvré d'auqueton
Trova ſeant la dame lez i. feu de charbon.—Gautier d'Aupais, p. 25.

In the romance of "Sir Degrevant," when the lady Myldore has ſent for her lover to come privately to her chamber at night, ſhe orders her maiden to prepare a fire, and place fagots of fir-wood to keep it burning—

Dameſele, loke ther be
A fuyre in the chymené;
Fagattus of fyre-tre,
That fetchyd was yare (formerly).—Thornton Romances, p. 234.

A board is placed on treſtles to form a table, and a dainty ſupper is ſerved, which the lady carves for her lover, and ſhe further treats him with rich wines. In the romance of "Queen Berthe" (p. 102), three perſons, holding a ſecret conſultation in the chamber of one of their party, ſit on carpets

carpets (*ſur les tapis*); but theſe were no doubt embroidered cloths thrown over the ſeats. Floor-carpets were ſometimes uſed in the chambers, but this was uncommon, and they ſeem to have been more uſually, like the hall, ſtrewed with ruſhes. It appears that ſometimes, as a refinement in gaiety, flowers were mixed with the ruſhes. In a fabliau in Meon (i. 75), a lady who expects her lover, lights a fire in the chamber, and ſpreads ruſhes and flowers on the floor—

Vient à l'oſtel, lo feu eſclaire,
Jons et flors eſpandre par l'aire.

There was an *eſcrin*, or cabinet, which ſtood againſt the wall, which was often ſo large that a man might conceal himſelf behind it. The plot of ſeveral mediæval ſtories turns upon this circumſtance. Cheſts and coffers were alſo kept in the chamber; and it contained generally a ſmall table, or at leaſt the board and treſtles for making one, which the lord or lady of the houſe uſed when they would dine or ſup in private. The practice of thus dining or ſupping privately in the chamber is not unfrequently alluded to in the old ſtories and romances.

Supper, however, being the ſecond meal in the day at which the whole houſehold met together, was generally a more public one, and was held, like the dinner, in the hall, and with much the ſame forms and ſervices. It was preceded and cloſed by the ſame waſhing of hands, and the table was almoſt as plentifully covered with viands. After having waſhed, the company drank round, and it ſeems to have been the uſual cuſtom, on leaving the ſupper-table, to go immediately to bed, for people in general kept early hours. Thus, in one of the pious ſtories printed by Meon, in deſcribing a royal ſupper-party, we are told that, "when they had eaten and waſhed, they drunk, and then went to bed"—

Qant orent mengié, ſi læverent,
Puis burent, et couchier alerent.

And in another ſtory in the ſame collection, the lady receives a ſtranger to ſupper in a very hoſpitable manner—"when they had eaten leiſurely, then it was time to go to bed"—

Qant orent mengié par loiſir,
Si fu heure d'aler geſir.

Sometimes,

Sometimes, however, there were dancing and other amuſements between ſupper and bed-time. Thus, in the romance of "Sir Degrevant,"—

Bleve (quickly) *to ſoper they dyght,*
Both ſquiere and knyght;
They daunſed and revelide that nyght,
In hert were they blythe.

In a fabliau publiſhed by Barbazan, on the arrival in a nobleman's caſtle of a knight who is treated with eſpecial courteſy, the knights and ladies dance after ſupper, and then, at bed-time, they conduct the viſitor into his bed-chamber, and drink with him there before they leave him:—

Après mengier, chaſcuns comence
De faire caroles et dance,
Tant qu'il fu houre de couchier;
Puis anmainment le chevalier
En ſa chambre où fait fu ſon lit,
Et là burent par grant delit;
Puis prinrent congié.

Fruit was uſually eaten after ſupper. In a fabliau of the thirteenth century, a noble viſitor having been received in the houſe of a knight, they go immediately to ſupper. "After they had done eating, they enjoyed themſelves in converſation, and then they had fruit," and it was only after this that they waſhed—

Après mengier ſe ſont deduit
De paroles, puis ſi ont fruit.

In the lay of the "Chevalier à l'Eſpée," Sir Gauwain takes, inſtead of ſupper, fruit and wine before he goes to bed.

The cuſtom of keeping early hours ſtill prevailed, and is very frequently alluded to. People are generally deſcribed as riſing with the ſun. Such was the caſe with the king, in the romance of "Pariſe la Ducheſſe"—

Landemain par matin, quand ſolaus fu levez,
& leva li rois Hugues.—Pariſe, ed. P. Paris, p. 219.

It was the cuſtom, after riſing, to attend ſervice either in the church or in the private chapel. In the hiſtory of Fulke Fitz-Warine, Joſe de Dynan,

Dynan, in his caſtle of Ludlow, roſe early in the morning, heard ſervice in the chapel, after which he mounted to the top of the loftieſt tower, to take a view of the country around, then deſcended and "cauſed the horn to be ſounded for waſhing." This was no doubt the ſignal for the houſehold to aſſemble for breakfaſt. In Chaucer's "Squyeres Tale," the king's gueſts, after great feaſting and carouſing at night, ſleep till "prime large" in the morning, that is till ſix o'clock, which is ſpoken of in a manner which evidently intimates that they had conſiderably overſlept themſelves. The princeſs Canace had left her bed long before, and was walking with her maidens in the park. In the "Schipmannes Tale," too, the lady riſes very early in the morning, and takes her walk in the garden. In the curious "Book" of the Chevalier de la Tour Landry, we are told of a very pious dame whom he knew, whoſe daily life was as follows:—She roſe early in the morning, had two friars and two or three chaplains in attendance to chant matins while ſhe was riſing; as ſoon as ſhe left her chamber ſhe went to her chapel, and remained in devotion in her oratory while they ſaid matins and one maſs, and then ſhe went and dreſſed and arrayed herſelf, after which ſhe went to recreate herſelf in the garden or about the houſe; ſhe then attended divine ſervice again, and after it went to dinner; and during the afternoon ſhe viſited the ſick, and in due time ſupped, and after ſupper ſhe called her *maître d'hôtel*, and made her houſehold arrangements for the following day.

The hour of breakfaſt is very uncertain, and appears not to have been fixed. The hour of dinner was, as already ſtated, nine o'clock in the morning, or ſometimes ten. In the lay of the "Mantel Mautaillé," king Arthur is introduced on a grand feſtival day refuſing, according to his cuſtom, to begin the dinner till ſome "adventure" occurs, and the gueſts wait till near "nonne," when the grand ſeneſchal, Sir Keux, takes upon himſelf to expoſtulate, and repreſents that dinner had been ready a long time (*pieçà*). *Nonne* is here probably meant for midday, or noon. The queen was in her chamber, greatly diſtreſſed at having to wait ſo long for dinner. The regular hour of ſupper appears to have been five o'clock in the afternoon, but when private it ſeems not to have been fixed to any particular hour. In ſummer, at leaſt, people appear uſually to have gone

to

to bed when darkneſs approached; and this was the time at which gueſts ordinarily took their leave. Thus, at January's wedding-feaſt, in Chaucer, we are told that—

> *Night, with his mantel, that is dark and rude,*
> *Gan overſprede themeſperie aboute;*
> *For which departed is the luſti route*
> *Fro January, with thank on every ſide,*
> *Hoom to her houſes luſtily thay ryde.*—Cant. Tales, l. 9672.

We muſt not forget that theſe remarks apply to the ſeaſons of the year when days were long, for the ſcenes of moſt of theſe romances and tales are laid in the ſpring and ſummer months, and eſpecially in May. We have much leſs information on the domeſtic relations during winter.

One reaſon for keeping early hours was that candles and lamps were too expenſive to be uſed in profuſion by people in general. Various methods of giving artificial light at night are mentioned, moſt of which ſeem to have been conſidered more or leſs as luxuries. At grand feſtivals the light was often given by men holding torches. In general, candles were uſed at ſupper. The accompanying cut (No. 176), taken from the manuſcript of the St. Graal already mentioned, repreſents a perſon ſupping by candlelight. In the fabliau of "La Borgoiſe d'Orliens," a lady, receiving her lover into her chamber, ſpreads a table for him, and lights a great wax candle (*groſſe chandoile de cire*).

No. 176. *A Supper.*

Lighting in the middle ages was, indeed, effected, in a manner more or leſs refined, by means of torches, lamps, and candles. The candle, which was the moſt portable of them all, was employed in ſmall and private evening parties; and, from an early period, it was uſed in the bed-chamber. For the table very handſome candleſticks were made, which were employed by people of rank, and wax-candles (*cierges*) were uſed on them. They were formed with an upright ſpike (*broche*), on which the candle was ſtuck, not, as now, placed in a ſocket. Thus, in a ſcene in one of the fabliaux printed by Barbazan, a good *bourgeois* has on

his ſupper-table two candleſticks of ſilver, "very fair and handſome," with wax-candles—

Deſor la table ot deus broiſſins,
Où il avoit cierges, d'argent,
Molt eſtoient bel et gent.—Barbazan, vol. iv. p. 164.

So in the romance of "La Violette," when the count Liſiart arrives at the caſtle of duke Gerart, on the approach of bedtime, two men-ſervants make their appearance, each carrying a lighted *cierge*, or wax-candle, and thus they lead him to his chamber—

Atant lor vinrent doi ſergant,
Chaſcuns tenoit j. cerge ardant;
Le conte menerent couchier.—La Violette, p. 30.

This, however, appears to have been done as a mark of honour to the gueſt, for, even in ducal caſtles common candles appear to have been in ordinary uſe. In a bedroom ſcene in a fabliau printed by Meon (tom. i. p. 268), in which the younger ladies of the duke's family and their female attendants ſlept all in beds in one room, they have but one candle (*chandoile*), and that is attached to the wood of the bed of the duke's daughter, ſo that it would appear to have had no candleſtick. One of the damſels, who was a ſtranger, and leſs familiar than the others, was unwilling to take off her chemiſe until the light was extinguiſhed, for it muſt be remembered that it was the general cuſtom to ſleep in bed quite naked, and the daughter of the duke, whoſe bedfellow ſhe was to be, blew the candle out—

Roſeite tantoſt la souſla,
Qu'a ſ'eſponde eſtoit atachie.

Blowing out the candle was the ordinary manner of extinguiſhing it. In the "Ménagier de Paris," or inſtructions for the management of a gentleman's houſehold, compiled in the latter half of the fourteenth century, the lady of the houſe is told, after having each night aſcertained that the houſe is properly cloſed and all the fires covered, to ſee all the ſervants to bed, and to take care that each had a candle in a "flat-bottomed candleſtick," at ſome diſtance from the bed, "and to teach them prudently to extinguiſh

extinguiſh their candles before they go into their bed with the mouth, or with the hand, and not with their chemiſe," *i. e.*, they were to blow their candle out, or put it out with their fingers, not to extinguiſh it by throwing their ſhifts upon it—another alluſion to the practice of ſleeping naked.* Extinguiſhers had not yet come into general uſe. People went to bed with a candle placed in a candleſtick of a different deſcription from that uſed at table; and we learn from a ſtory in the "Ménagier de Paris" that it was cuſtomary for the ſervant or ſervants who had charge of the candles, to accompany them into their bedroom, remain with them till they were in bed, and then carry the candles away. Candles were, however, uſually left in the chamber or bedroom all night; and there was frequently a ſpike, or candleſtick, attached to the chimney;

No. 177. *The Cellarer in a Panic.*

as in the fabliau juſt quoted there was, no doubt, a ſimilar ſpike attached to the wood-work of the bed. The ſtick, whether fixed or movable, was made for convenience in placing the candle in the chamber, and not for the purpoſe of carrying it about; for the latter purpoſe, it appears to have been generally taken off the ſtick, and carried in the hand. Our cut No. 177, taken from one of the carved ſtalls of

* Et ayez fait adviser par avant, qu'ils aient chascun loing de son lit chandelier à platine pour mettre sa chandelle, et les aiez fait introduire sagement de l'estaindre à la bouche ou à la main avant qu'ils entrent en leur lit, et non mie à la chemise.—(Ménagier de Paris, ii. 71.)

the

the chapel of Wincheſter ſchool, repreſents an individual, perhaps the cellarer or ſteward, who has gone into the cellar with a candle, which he carries in this manner, and is there terrified by the appearance of hobgoblins. In the fabliau of the "Chevalier à la Corbeille," an old dueña, employed to watch over her young miſtreſs, being diſturbed in the night, is obliged to take her candle, and go into the kitchen to light it; from whence we may ſuppoſe that it was the cuſtom to keep the kitchen fire in all night.

An old poem on the troubles of houſekeeping, printed by M. Jubinal in his "Nouveau Recueil de Contes," enumerates candles and a lantern among the neceſſaries of a houſehold—

Or faut chandeles et lanterne.

No. 178. *Man with Lantern.*

A manuſcript of the thirteenth century in the French National Library (No. 6956) contains an illumination, which has furniſhed us with the accompanying cut (No. 178), repreſenting a man holding a lantern of the form then in uſe, and lanterns are not unfrequently mentioned in old writers.

It appears to have been a common cuſtom, at leaſt among the better claſſes of ſociety, to keep a lamp in the chamber to give light during the night. In one of the fabliaux printed in Meon, a man entering the chamber of a knight's lady, finds it lit by a lamp which was uſually left burning in it—

Une lampe avoit en la chambre,
Par coſtume ardoir i ſiaut.

In the Engliſh romance of "Sir Eglamour," ſeveral lamps are deſcribed as burning in a lady's chamber—

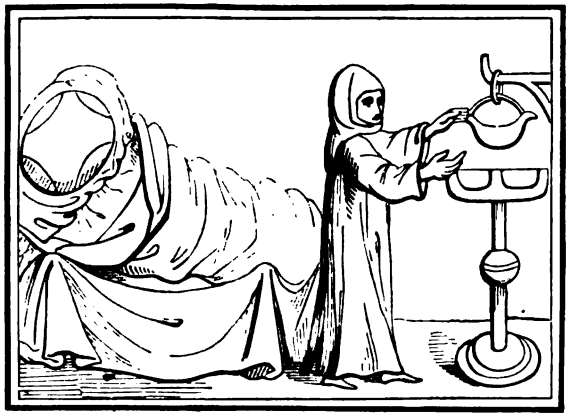
Aftur ſopur, as y yow telle,
He wendyd to chaumbur with Cryſtyabelle,
There laumpus were brennyng bryght.

We may ſuppoſe, notwithſtanding theſe words, that a lamp gave but a dim light; and accordingly we are told in another fabliau that there was little

little light, or, as it is expreſſed in the original, "none," in a chamber where nothing but a lamp was burning,—

En la chambre lumiere n'ot,
Hors d'un mortier qu'iluec ardoit,
Point de clarté ne lor rendoit.

In the accompanying cut (No. 179), taken from an illumination in a manuſcript of the fourteenth century, in the National Library in Paris



No. 179. A Bedroom Chamber Scene.

(No. 6988), a nun, apparently, is arranging her lamp before going to bed. The lamp here conſiſts of a little baſin of oil, in which, no doubt, the wick floated; but the uſe of the ſtand under it is not eaſily explained.

Lamps were uſed where a light was wanted in a room for a long time, becauſe they laſted longer without requiring ſnuffing. The lamps of the middle ages were made uſually on the plan of thoſe of the Romans, conſiſting, as in the foregoing example, of a ſmall veſſel of earthenware or metal, which was filled with oil, and a wick placed in it. This lamp was placed on a ſtand, or was ſometimes ſuſpended on a beam, or perch, or againſt the wall. We have an example of this in the preceding cut (No. 179), which explains the term *mortier* (mortar) of the fabliau, it was

was a wick ſwinging in oil in a baſin. Our cut No. 180, taken from a manuſcript of the fourteenth century in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Harl., No. 1227), repreſents a row of lamps of rather curious form, made to be ſuſpended. In our next cut (No. 181), from a manuſcript of the ſame

No. 180. *Mediæval Lamps.*

date (MS. Reg. 2 B. vii.), we have lamps of a ſomewhat ſimilar form, made to be carried in the hand.

Torches were uſed at greater feſtivals, and for occaſions where it was neceſſary to give light to very large halls full of company. They were

No. 181. *Men carrying Lamps.*

uſually held in the hand by ſervants, but were ſometimes placed againſt the wall in holds made to receive them. Torches were not unfrequently uſed to give light to the chamber alſo. In one of the ſtories of the "Seven Sages," a man, bringing a perſon in ſecret to the king's chamber,

"blewe

"blewe out the torche," in order to cauſe perfect darkneſs (Weber, iii. 63); and in the early Engliſh romance of "Sir Degrevant" (Weber, iii. 213), where light is wanted in a lady's chamber, it is obtained by means of the torches.

There were other means of giving light, on a ſtill greater ſcale, which I ſhall deſcribe in a ſubſequent chapter, when treating of the fifteenth century.

CHAPTER XII.

THE BED AND ITS FURNITURE.—THE TOILETTE; BATHING.—CHESTS AND COFFERS IN THE CHAMBER.—THE HUTCH.—USES OF RINGS.—COMPOSITION OF THE FAMILY.—FREEDOM OF MANNERS.—SOCIAL SENTIMENTS, AND DOMESTIC RELATIONS.

IT was now a matter of pride to have the bed furniſhed with handſome curtains and coverings. Curtains to beds were ſo common, that being "under the curtain" was uſed as an ordinary periphraſis for being in bed; but theſe curtains appear to have been ſuſpended to the ceiling of the chamber, with the bedſtead behind them. With regard to the bed itſelf, there was now much more refinement than when it was ſimply ſtuffed with ſtraw. Beds among the rich were made with down (*duvet*); in the "Roman de la Violette" we are told of a bed made of *bofu*—perhaps of flocks. From the vocabulary compoſed by Alexander Neckam early in the thirteenth century, we learn that the bed was covered much in the ſame way as at preſent. Firſt, a "quilte" was ſpread over the bed; on this the bolſter was placed; over this was laid a "quilte poynté" or "rayé" (*courtepointe*, or counterpane); and on this, at the head of the bed, was placed the pillow. The ſheets were then thrown over it, and the whole was covered with a coverlet, the common material of which, according to Neckam, was green ſay, though richer materials, and even valuable furs, were uſed for this purpoſe. In the "Lai del Déſiré," we are told of a quilt (*coilte*), made in checker-wiſe, of pieces of two different ſorts of rich ſtuff, which ſeems to have been conſidered as ſomething extremely magnificent—

Sur on bon lit ſ'ert apuiée;
La coilte fu à eſchekers
De deus pailles ben faim e chers.

Among all claſſes the appearance of the bed ſeems to have been a

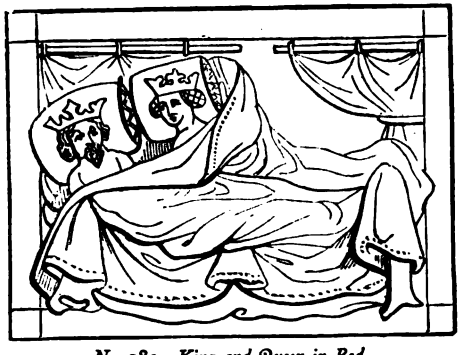
ſubject

ſubject of conſiderable pride, no doubt from the circumſtance of the bed-room being a place for receiving viſitors. There were ſometimes two or more beds in the ſame room, and viſitors ſlept in the ſame chamber with the hoſt and hoſteſs. Beds were alſo made for the occaſion, without bedſteads, ſometimes in the hall, at others in the chamber beſide the ordinary bed, or in ſome other room. The plots of many mediæval ſtories turn on theſe circumſtances. People therefore kept extra materials for making the beds. In the "Roman du Meunier d'Arleux," when a maiden comes as an unexpected viſitor, a place is choſen for her by the ſide of the fire, and a ſoft bed is laid down, with very expenſive ſheets, and a coverlet "warm and furred"—

Kieute mole, linchex molt chier,
Et covertoir chaut et forré.

One cuſtom continued to prevail during the whole of this period,—that of ſleeping in bed entirely naked. So many alluſions to this practice occur in the old writers, that it is hardly neceſſary to ſay more than ſtate the fact. Not unfrequently this cuſtom is ſtill more ſtrongly expreſſed by ſtating that people went to bed as naked as they were born; as in ſome moral lines in the "Reliquiæ Antiquæ" (ii. 15), againſt the pride of the ladies, who are told that, however gay may be their clothing during the day, they will lie in bed at night as naked as they were born. It is true that in ſome inſtances in the illuminations perſons are ſeen in bed with ſome kind of clothing on, but this was certainly an exception to the rule, and there is generally ſome particular reaſon for it. Thus, in the "Roman de la Violette" (p. 31), the lady Oriant excites the ſurpriſe of her dueña by going to bed in a *chemiſe*, and is obliged to explain her reaſon for ſo ſingular a practice, namely, her deſire to conceal a mark on her body. Our cut No. 182, taken from the romance of the St. Graal, in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Addit. No. 10,292, fol. 21, v°), repreſents a king and queen in bed, both naked. The crowns on their heads are a mere conventional method of ſtating their rank: kings and queens were not in the habit of ſleeping in bed with their crowns on their heads. In the next cut (No. 183), taken from a manuſcript of the romance of the

"Quatre Fils d'Aymon," of the latter part of the fourteenth century, in the National Library in Paris (No. 6970), there is ſtill leſs room left for



No. 182. *King and Queen in Bed.*

doubt on the ſubject. The people ſeem to be ſleeping in a public hoſtelry, where the beds are made in receſſes, not unlike the berths in a

No. 183. *Night Scene in a Hoſtelry.*

modern ſteamer; the man on horſeback is ſuppoſed to be outſide, and his

his arrival has given alarm to a man who was in bed, and who is eſcaping without any kind of clothing. In the Engliſh romance of "Sir Iſumbras," the caſtle of Iſumbras is burnt to the ground in the night, and his lady and three children eſcaped from their beds; when he hurried to the ſpot, he found them without clothing or ſhelter—

A dolefulle ſyghte the knyghte gane ſee
Of his wyfe and his childir three,
That fro the fyre were ſtede;
Alle als nakede als thay were borne
Stode togedir undir a thorne,
Braydede owte of thaire bedd.

Curiouſly enough, while ſo little care was taken to cover the body, the head was carefully covered at night, not with a nightcap, but with a kerchief (*couvrechief*), which was wrapped round it.

The practice of warm-bathing prevailed very generally in all claſſes of ſociety, and is frequently alluded to in the mediæval romances and ſtories. For this purpoſe a large bathing-tub was uſed, the ordinary form of which is repreſented in the annexed cut (No. 184), taken from the

No. 184. A Lady Bathing.

manuſcript of the St. Graal, of the thirteenth century, in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Addit. No. 10,292, fol. 266). People ſometimes bathed immediately after riſing in the morning; and we find the bath uſed after dinner, and before going to bed. A bath was alſo often prepared for a viſitor

viſitor on his arrival from a journey; and, what ſeems ſtill more ſingular, in the numerous ſtories of amorous intrigues, the two lovers uſually begin their interviews by bathing together.

Our cut No. 185, from another volume of the manuſcript laſt quoted (MS. Addit. No. 10,293, fol. 266), repreſents a lady at her toilette. It is a ſubject on which our information at this period is not very abundant. The round mirror of metal which ſhe is employing was the common form during the middle ages, and was no doubt derived from the ancients. The details of the ladies' toilette are not often deſcribed, but the contemporary moraliſts and ſatiriſts condemn, in rather general terms, and evidently with more bitterneſs than was called for, the pains taken by the ladies to adorn their perſons. They are accuſed of turning their bodies from their natural form by artificial means, alluding to the uſe of ſtays, which appear to have been firſt employed by the Anglo-Norman ladies in the twelfth century. They are further accuſed of plucking out ſuperfluous hairs from their faces and eyebrows, of dyeing their hair, and of painting their faces. The chevalier de la Tour-Landry (chap. 76) tells his daughters that the whole intrigue between king David and the wife of Uriah aroſe out of the circumſtance of the lady combing her hair at an open window where ſhe could be ſeen from without, and ſays that it was a puniſhment for the too great attention ſhe gave to the adornment of her head. The toilette of the day ſeems to have been completed at the firſt riſing from bed in the morning. There are ſome pictureſque lines in the Engliſh metrical romance of "Aliſaunder," which deſcribe the morning thus:—

No. 185. Lady at her Toilette.

> *In a moretyde* (morrow-tide) *hit was;*
> *Theo dropes hongyn on the gras;*
> *Theo maydenes lokyn in the glas,*
> *For to tyffen* (adorn) *heare fas.*—Weber, I. 169.

The chamber, as it has been already intimated, was properly ſpeaking the women's apartment, though it was very acceſſible to the other ſex. It

It was uſually the place for private converſation, and we often hear of perſons entering the chamber for this purpoſe, and in this caſe the bed ſeems to have ſerved uſually for a ſeat. Thus, in the romance of "Eglamour," when, after ſupper, Chriſtabelle led the knight into her chamber—

That lady was not for to hyde,
Sche ſett hym on hur beddys ſyde,
And welcomyd home thet knyght.

Again, in a fabliau printed by Meon, a woman of a lower grade, wiſhing to make a private communication to a man, invites him into her chamber, and they ſit on the bed to converſe—

En une chanbre andui en vont,
Deſor un lit aſis ſe ſont.

And in the fabliau of "Guillaume au Faucon," printed by Barbazan, Guillaume, viſiting the lady of a knight in her chamber, finds her ſeated

No. 186. *Converſation in the Chamber.*

on the bed, and he immediately takes a ſeat by her ſide to converſe with her. In the illuminated manuſcripts, ſcenes of this kind occur frequently; but in the fourteenth century, inſtead of being ſeated on the bed, the perſons thus converſing ſit on a bench which runs along the ſide of the bed, and ſeems to belong to the bedſtead. A ſcene of this kind is repreſented

repreſented in our cut No. 186 (taken from a manuſcript of the romance of "Meliadus," in the Britiſh Muſeum, MS. Addit. No. 12,228, fol. 312), which is a good repreſentation of a bed of the fourteenth century. A lady has introduced a king into her chamber, and they are converſing privately, ſeated on the bench of the bed. In ſome of theſe illuminations, the perſons converſing are ſeated on the bed, with their feet on the bench.

The illuminators had not yet learned the art of repreſenting things in detail, and they ſtill too often give us mere conventional repreſentations of beds, yet we ſee enough to convince us that the bedſteads were already

No. 187. *Taking Clothes from the Cheſt.*

made much more elaborately than formerly. Beſides the bench at the ſide, we find them now with a hutch (*huche*) or locker at the foot, in which the poſſeſſor was accuſtomed to lock up his money and other valuables. This hutch at the foot of the bed is often mentioned in the fabliaux and romances. Thus, in the fabliau "Du chevalier à la Robe Vermeille," a man, when he goes to bed, places his robe on a hutch at the foot of the bed—

Sur une huche aus piez du lit
A cil toute ſa robe miſe.

Another,

Another, having extorted ſome money from a prieſt, immediately puts it in the hutch—

Les deniers a mis en la huche.

The hutch was indeed one of the moſt important articles of furniture in the mediæval chamber. All portable objects of intrinſic value or utility were kept in boxes, becauſe they were thus ready for moving and taking away in caſe of danger, and becauſe in travelling people carried much of their movables of this deſcription about with them. Hence the uſes of the hutch or cheſt were very numerous and diverſified. It was uſual to keep clothes of every deſcription in a cheſt, and illuſtrations of this practice are met with not uncommonly in the illuminated manuſcripts. One of them is given in our cut No. 187, taken from an illumination in a manuſcript of the fourteenth century, given by Willemin. Jewels, plate, perſonal ornaments of all kinds, and all deſcriptions of "treaſure," were ſimilarly locked up in cheſts. In our cut No. 188, taken alſo from a manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Reg. 2 B. vii., of the beginning of the fourteenth century), a man appears in the act of depoſiting in a cheſt fibulæ or brooches, rings, buttons, and other objects, and a large veſſel probably of ſilver. Our cut No. 189, from a manuſcript in the National Library in Paris (No. 6956), repreſents a miſer examining the money in his hutch, which is here detached from a bed; but in ſome other illuminations, a hutch of much the ſame form appears attached to the bed foot. In Anglo-Saxon the coffer was called a *loc*, whence our word *locker* is derived; or a *cyſte*, our *cheſt*; or an *arc*: from the Anglo-Normans we derive the words *hutch* (*huche*) and *coffer* (*coffre*). The Anglo-Saxons, as we have ſhown in a former chapter (p. 79), like our forefathers of a later period, kept their treaſures in lockers or hutches. In the "Legend of St. Juliana," an Anglo-Saxon poem

No. 188. *The Treaſure Cheſt.*

poem in the Exeter Book, it is remarked in proof of the richneſs of a chieftain :—

þeah þe feoh-geſtreon	*Although he riches*
under hord-locan,	*in his treaſure-lockers,*
hyrſta únrím,	*jewels innumerable,*
æhte ofer eorþan.	*poſſeſſed upon earth.*—Exeter Book, p. 245.

Among the Anglo-Saxons the lady of the houſehold had the charge of the coffers. In one of the laws of Cnut relating to robberies, it is declared that "if any man bring a ſtolen thing home to his cot, and he be detected, it is juſt that the owner have what he went for; and unleſs it has been brought under his wife's key-lockers (*cæg-locan*), let her be clear; for it is her duty to keep the keys of them, namely, her ſtorehouſe

No. 189. *A Miſer and his Hoard.*

(*hord-ern*), and her cheſt (*cyſte*), and her box (*tege*)." (Cnut's Laws, No. 180.)

In the old metrical romances, when a town is taken and ſacked, the plunderers are deſcribed as hurrying to the chambers, to rifle the cheſts and coffers, which were kept there. Thus, in the romance of the "Mort de Garin," when Fromont's town is taken by the followers of the hero of the romance, "the Lorrains," we are told, "haſtened to deſtroy the town; there you might ſee many a chamber broken open, and many a hutch burſt and torn, where they found robes, and ſilver, and glittering gold"—

Loheren

Loheren poignent por le borc deſrochier.
Là véiſſiez mainte chambre briſier,
Et mainte huche effondrer et percier,
Et trovent robes, et argent, et or mier.—Mort de Garin, p. 168.

So in the romance of "Garin," of which that juſt quoted is the ſequel, on a ſimilar occaſion, "there you might ſee them rob the great halls, and break open the chambers, and force the coffers (*eſcrins*),"—

Là véiſſiez les grans ſalles rober ;
Chambres briſier, et les eſcrins forcier.—Garin le Loherain, tom. i. p. 197.

Further on, in the ſame romance, the fair Beatrix, addreſſing her huſband, the duke Begues, tells him that he has gold and ſilver in his coffers,—

Or et argent avez en vos eſcrins.—Ib., tom. ii. p. 218.

Money was, indeed, commonly kept in the huche or coffer. In the fabliau of "Conſtant Duhamel," when Conſtant is threatened by the

No. 190. *Joſeph buying up the Corn.*

foreſter, who had detained his oxen on the pretence that they had been found treſpaſſing, he tells him that he was ready to redeem them, as he had a hundred ſols of money in his hutch by his bed—

J'ai en ma huche lez mon lit,
Cent ſols de deniers à voſtre oes.—Barbazan, iii. 307.

In the accompanying cut (No. 190), from a manuſcript of the four-

teenth century in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Reg. 10 E. iv.), Joſeph is repreſented counting out the money from his *huche*, to buy up the corn of Egypt, during the years of plenty.

The cheſts were kept in the chambers, as being the moſt retired and ſecure part of the houſe, and, from the terms in which the breaking open of the chambers is ſpoken of in the foregoing extracts, we are led to ſuppoſe that the chambers themſelves were uſually locked. The ordinary place for the cheſts or hutches, or, at leaſt, of the principal cheſt, was by the ſide, or more uſually at the foot, of the bed. We have juſt ſeen that this was the place in which Conſtant Duhamel kept his *huche*. Under theſe circumſtances it was very commonly uſed for a ſeat, and is often introduced as ſuch, both in the literature of the middle ages, and in the illuminations of the manuſcripts. In the romance of "Garin" (tom. i. p. 214), the king's meſſenger finds the count of Flanders, Fromont, in a tent, according to one manuſcript, ſeated on a coffer (*ſor un coffre où ſe ſiſt*). So, alſo, in the "Roman de la Violette," p. 25, the heroine and her treacherous gueſt are repreſented as ſeated upon "a coffer banded with copper" (*ſor j. coffre bendé de coivre*). Our cut No. 191, taken from one of the engravings in the great work of Willemin, repreſents a ſcribe thus ſeated on a coffer or *huche*, and engaged apparently in writing a letter. Our next cut (No. 192), taken from a manuſcript of the fourteenth century in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Reg. 15 E. vi.), repreſents a lady and gentleman, ſeated on apparently a coffer, the former of whom is preſenting a ring to the other.

No. 191. Sitting on the Huche.

This latter object, the ring, acts alſo a very frequent and very important part in the ſocial hiſtory of the middle ages. A ring was often given as a token of affection between lovers, as may perhaps be intended by the ſubject of our laſt cut, or between relatives or friends. In the romance of "Widukind," tom. ii. p. 20, the queen gives her ring to her lover in

a ſecret interview in her tent. So, in the romance of "Horn," the lady Rigmel gave her lover, Horn, a ring as a token. It was often, moreover, given not merely as a token of remembrance, but as a means of recognition. In the well-known early Engliſh romance of "Sir Triſtram," the mother of the hero, dying in childbirth of him after his father had

No. 192. *The Token of the Ring.*

been ſlain, gives a ring to the knight to whoſe care ſhe entruſted the infant, as a token by which his parentage ſhould be known when he grew up:—

A ring of riche hewe
Than hadde that levedi (lady) *fre;*
Sche toke (gave) *it Rouhand trewe,*
Hir ſone ſche bad it be;
Mi brother wele it knewe,
Mi fader yaf it me.

This ring leads ſubſequently to the recognition of Triſtram by his uncle, king Mark. In the romance of "Ipomydon" (Weber's "Metrical Romances," vol. ii. p. 355), the hero ſimilarly receives from his mother a ring, which was to be a token of recognition to his illegitimate brother. So, in the romance, Horn makes himſelf known in the ſequel to Rigmel, by dropping the ring ſhe had given him into the drinking-horn which ſhe was ſerving round at a feaſt. Rings were often given to meſſengers as credentials, or were uſed for the ſame purpoſe as letters of introduction. In the romance of "Floire and Blanceflor" (p. 55), the young hero, on his

his way to Babylon, arrives at a bridge, the keeper of which has a brother in the great city, to whoſe hoſpitality he wiſhes to recommend Floire, and for that purpoſe he gives him his ring. "Take this ring to him," he ſays, "and tell him from me to receive you in his beſt manner." The meſſage was attended with complete ſucceſs. In our cut No. 193, taken from a manuſcript of the fourteenth century in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Reg. 10 E. iv.), the meſſenger arrives with the letter of which he is the bearer, and at the ſame time exhibits a ring in the place of credentials.

There was another circumſtance which gave value and importance to rings in the middle ages. Not only might rings be charmed by the

No. 193. The Delivery of the Ring.

power of the magician, but it was an article of general belief that the engraved ſtones of the ancients, which were found commonly enough on old ſites, and even the precious ſtones in general, without any engraving, poſſeſſed extraordinary virtues, the benefit of which was imparted to thoſe who carried them on their perſons. In the romance of "Meluſine" (p. 357), the heroine, when about to leave the houſe of her huſband, gives him two rings, and ſays, "My ſweet love, you ſee here two rings of gold, which have both the ſame virtue; and know well for truth, that ſo long as you poſſeſs them, or one of them, you ſhall never be overcome in pleading nor in battle, if your cauſe be rightful; and neither you nor others who may poſſeſs them, ſhall ever die by any weapons." In a ſtory among

among the collection of the "Geſta Romanorum," edited by ſir Frederic Madden for the Roxburghe Club (p. 150), a father is made, on his death-bed, to give to his ſon a ring, "the virtue of which was, that whoſoever ſhould bear it upon him, ſhould have the love of all men." The ring given by the princeſs Rigmel to Horn poſſeſſed virtues of an equally remarkable deſcription—"Whoever bore it upon him could not periſh; he need not fear to die either in fire or water, or in field of battle, or in the contention of the tournament." So, in the romance of "Floire and Blanceflor" (p. 42), the queen gives her ſon a ring which would protect him againſt all danger, and aſſure to him the eventual attainment of every object of his wiſhes. Nor was the ring of ſir Perceval of Galles (Thornton Romances, p. 71) at all leſs remarkable in its properties, of which the rhymer ſays—

Siche a vertue es in the ſtane,
In alle this werlde wote I nane
Siche ſtone in a rynge;
A mane that had it in were (war)
One his body for to bere,
There ſchulde no dyntys (blows) *hym dere* (injure),
Ne to dethe brynge.

The conſideration of the houſe and its parts and furniture, and of the outward forms of domeſtic life, leads us naturally to that of the conſtitution of the family. It was the chief pride of the ariſtocratic claſs to live very extravagantly, and to ſupport a great houſehold, with an immenſe number of perſonal attendants of different claſſes. In the firſt place the old ſyſtem of foſtering, which was kept up to a comparatively late period, added to the number of the lord's or knight's family. As might was literally right in the middle ages, each man of worth ſought to ſtrengthen himſelf by the alliances which were formed by finding powerful foſter-fathers for his ſons, and the perſonal attachment and fidelity between the chief of the family and his foſter-child was often greater even than that between the father and his own ſon. In addition to the foſter children, gentlemen ſent their ſons to take an honourable kind of ſervice in the families of men of higher rank or greater wealth, where the manners and accompliſhments of gentlemen were to be learnt in greater perfection than at home; and the younger ſons of great families ſought ſimilar ſervice

ſervice with a view to their advancement in the world. Theſe two claſſes were the young ſquires, who ſerved at table, and performed a great number of what we ſhould now call menial offices to the lord and ladies of the houſehold, in all the amuſements and recreations of which they took part, and at the ſame time were inſtructed in gentlemanly manners and exerciſes—it was a ſort of apprenticeſhip introductory to knighthood. In the ſame manner the knightly families ſent their daughters to ſerve under the ladies of the greater or leſſer feudal chieftains, and they formed that claſs who, in the French romances and fabliaux, are called the *chambrières*, or chamber attendants, and in the Engliſh texts, ſimply the *maidens*, of the eſtabliſhment. The ladies of rank prided themſelves upon having a very great number of theſe *chambrières*, or maidens, for they were not only a means of oſtentation, but they were profitable, inaſmuch as beſides attending on the perſonal wants of their miſtreſſes, they were conſtantly employed in ſpinning, weaving, and the various proceſſes of producing cloth, in millinery and dreſſ-making, in embroidery, and in a great number of ſimilar labours, which were not only required for furniſhing the large number of perſons who depended upon their lord for their liveries, &c., but which were ſometimes ſold to obtain money, which was always a ſcarce thing in the country. The beauty of the *pucelles*, as they are often termed in the French text, or maidens, is alſo ſpoken of as a ſubject of pride. In a metrical ſtory printed by Meon (ii. 38), a great lady receiving a female ſtranger into her houſehold, became ſo much attached to her, "that ſhe made more of her than of all her maidens, of whom," it is added, "there were handſome ones in her chambers"—

De li la dame fet grant feſte,
Plus que de totes ſes puceles,
Dont en ſes chambres a de beles.

And ſo, in the romance of "Blonde of Oxford" (p. 50), when the counteſs went with her maidens to viſit John, the remark is made that among them there were plenty of beauties:—

Et la conteſſe et ſes puceles,
Dont ele avoit aſſés de beles.

The

The uſual age for ſending a boy to foſter appears to have been ſeven years. That was the age at which Fulke Fitz-Warine was ſent to Joce de Dynan in Ludlow Caſtle. "The lady," the narrative tells us, "became with child; when ſhe was delivered, at the time ordained by God, they called the child Fulke. And when the child was ſeven years old, they ſent it to Joce de Dynan to teach and nouriſh; for Joce was a knight of good accompliſhment. Joce received him with great honour and great affection, and educated him in his chambers with his own children." Fulke the younger, in the next generation, was taken as his foſter-child by the king (Henry II.), and was nouriſhed and educated with the young princes, of whom John, in the ſequel, proved a bad foſter-brother. The great barons ſought to form alliances of this kind with the king, as well as with his great miniſters and other men of power. In the romance of "Garin le Loherain" (vol. i. p. 62), king Pepin gives the two orphan ſons of Hervis of Metz, Garin and Begon, as foſter-children to the count Hardrés, and they thus become ſeverally the foſter-brothers, or, as they are termed in the old French, *compains* (companions), of his two ſons, Begon being the foſter-brother of Guillaume of Montclin, and Garin of Fromont. Although they belong to rival families, and are each other's enemies through the turbulent ſcenes which form the ſubject of the ſtory, the ſentiment of the relationſhip by foſtering often ſhows itſelf. This yearning after ſomething beyond mere ordinary friendſhip ſeems to have been often felt in the middle ages, and led to various characteriſtic practices, among which one of the moſt remarkable was that of ſworn brotherhood. Two men—they are generally knights—who felt a ſufficiently ſtrong ſentiment towards each other, engaged, under the moſt ſolemn oaths, in a bond of fraternity for life, implying a conſtant and faithful friendſhip to each other. This practice enters largely into the plot of ſeveral of the mediæval romances, as in that of "Amis and Amiloun," and in the curious Engliſh metrical romance of "King Athelſton," printed in the "Reliquiæ Antiquæ." The deſire for this true friendſhip was not unnaturally increaſed by the general prevalence of treacherous falſehood and hateful feuds. There is a beautiful paſſage in the romance of "Garin," juſt quoted, which illuſtrates this ſentiment, while

while it furniſhes an intereſting picture of domeſtic life. "One day," we are told, "Begues was in his caſtle of Belin, and beſide him ſat the beautiful Beatris. The duke kiſſed her both on the mouth and on the cheeks, and very ſweetly the ducheſs ſmiled. In the middle of the hall ſhe ſaw her two ſons, the eldeſt of whom was Garin, and the youngeſt was named Hernaudin; their ages were reſpectively twelve years, and ten. Along with them were ſix *damoiſels* (gentlemen's ſons) of worth, and they were running and leaping together, and playing, and laughing, and making game. The duke looked at them, and began to ſigh; which was obſerved by the lady, who queſtioned him—'Ah! rich duke! why have you ſorrowful thoughts? You have gold and ſilver in your coffers, falcons in plenty on your perches, and rich cloths, buildings, and mules, and palfreys, and baggage-horſes; and you have cruſhed all your enemies. You have no neighbour within ſix days' journey powerful enough to refuſe to come to your ſervice if you ſend for him.' 'Lady,' ſaid the duke, 'what you ſay is true; but in one thing you have made a great overſight. Wealth conſiſts neither in rich cloths, nor in money, nor in buildings, nor in horſes; but it is made of kinſmen and friends: the heart of one man is worth all the gold in a country.' "—

Diſt li dus, "Dame, verités avez dit;
Mais d'une choſe i avez moult meſpris.
N'eſt pas richoiſe ne de vair ne de gris,
Ne de deniers, de murs, ne de roncins,
Mais eſt richoiſe de parens et d'amins;
Li cuers d'un homme vaut tout l'or d'un pais."—Garin le Loherain, ii. 218.

The incident of the younger, or even at times the elder, ſons of feudal lords or landholders going to ſeek ſervice is the groundwork of the romance of "Blonde of Oxford," and of the ſtory of "Courtois d'Arras," printed by Meon in his collection of fabliaux and ſtories. The latter tale is a mediæval verſion of the ſcriptural ſtory of the Prodigal Son. Youths of good family eaſily found ſervice in this manner, and the ſervice itſelf was not conſidered diſhonourable, becauſe lords and gentlemen admitted nobody to immediate attendance on their perſons but ſons of gentlemen—perſons of as good blood as themſelves. To be a good ſervant was a gentlemanly

gentlemanly accompliſhment, and the payment theſe gentlemanly ſervants received conſiſted ordinarily in their clothing and gifts of various kinds, rarely in money. I have already hinted that the intercourſe between the male and female portions of the houſehold was on a footing of familiarity and freedom, and at the ſame time on a tone of gallantry which could hardly produce a high degree of morality, but the details on this ſubject, though very abundant, are in great part of a deſcription which cannot here be entered upon. This intercourſe extended to what we ſhould now call the privacy of the bed-chamber. It was uſual, indeed, for the ladies to receive viſits from the gentlemen, *tête-à-tête*, in their chamber. In the fabliau of "Guillaume au Faucon," printed in Barbazan, the young "damoiſel," as the noble youth was uſually termed, having fallen in love with the beautiful wife of the lord in whoſe ſervice he was, took an opportunity of viſiting her in her chamber, when he knew that all her maidens were employed in another part of the building. Without knocking, he opened the door gently, and found the lady ſitting alone on her bed. The lady ſaluted him with "a ſweet ſmile," and told him to come in and ſit on the bed by her ſide, and there "he laughed, and talked, and plaid with her, and the lady did the ſame"—

Rit et parole et joe à li,
Et la dame tot autreſi.

In the midſt of theſe familiarities, Guillaume made his declaration of love, and was rejected, but his purſuit was ultimately ſucceſsful. In another fabliau of the thirteenth century, that of "Gautier d'Aupais," it is the daughter of his lord and lady with whom the young "damoiſel" falls in love, and he takes the opportunity one morning, while the two latter are at church, to pay a viſit to the young lady in her chamber. Although in bed on account of illneſs—and it has been already ſtated how people went to bed without any clothing—the lady is not ſurpriſed by Gautier's viſit, but invites him to ſit on her bed, and tell her ſomething to amuſe her, and he finds the opportunity of making his love with more ſucceſs than the hero of the other tale. In the ſame manner, the ladies are continually deſcribed as viſiting the gentlemen in their chambers,

both by day and by night. In "Blonde of Oxford," a faſhionable romance compoſed for the entertainment of the beſt ſociety, Blonde thus leaves her bed, throwing only a mantle over her perſon, to paſs whole nights with Jean of Dammartin, and their interviews are deſcribed in language which would not be allowed in any reſpectable book at the preſent day. The chevalier de la Tour-Landry, in his moral inſtructions to his daughters, tells them a ſtory to illuſtrate the ill reſults of a quarrelſome temper. There was a young lady, he ſays, the daughter of "a very gentle knight," who quarrelled at the game of tables with a gentleman who had no better temper than herſelf, and who, provoked by the irritating language ſhe uſed towards him, told her that ſhe was known to be in the habit of going by night into the men's chambers, and kiſſing and embracing them in their beds without candle; and this is told, not in reproof of conduct which was unuſually bad, but to ſhow that people who ſpeak ill of others run the riſk of having their own failings expoſed. Examples of this intercourſe of perſons of different ſexes in their chambers, and of the reſults which frequently followed, from the mediæval romances and ſtories, might be multiplied to almoſt any extent.

In theſe ſtories, the ladies in general ſhow no great degree of delicacy, but, on the contrary, they are commonly very forward. It is uſual with them to fall in love with the other ſex, and, ſo far from attempting to conceal their paſſion, they often become ſuitors, and make their advances with more warmth and leſs delicacy than is ſhown by the gentlemen in a ſimilar poſition. Not only are their manners diſſolute, but their language and converſation are looſe beyond anything that thoſe who have not read theſe intereſting records of mediæval life can eaſily conceive, which was a common failing with both ſexes. The author of the "Ménagier de Paris" (ii. 60), in recommending to his daughters ſome degree of modeſty on this point, makes uſe of words which his modern editor, although printing a text in obſolete language, thought it adviſable to ſuppreſs. It might be argued that the uſe of ſuch language is evidence rather of the coarſeneſs than of the immorality of the age, but, unfortunately, the latter interpretation is ſupported by the whole tenor of contemporary literature and anecdote,

anecdote, which leave no doubt that mediæval ſociety was profoundly immoral and licentious.

On the other hand, the gallantry and refinement of feeling which the gentleman is made to ſhow towards the other ſex, is but a conventional politeneſs; for the ladies are too often treated with great brutality. Men beating their wives, and even women with whom they quarrel who are not their wives, is a common incident in the tales and romances. The chevalier de la Tour-Landry tells his daughters the ſtory of a woman who was in the habit of contradicting her huſband in public, and replying to him ungraciouſly, for which, after the huſband had expoſtulated in vain, he one day raiſed his fiſt and knocked her down, and kicked her in the face while ſhe was down, and broke her noſe. "And ſo," ſays the knightly inſtructor, "ſhe was disfigured for life, and thus, through her ill behaviour and bad temper, ſhe had her noſe ſpoiled, which was a great misfortune to her. It would have been better for her to be ſilent and ſubmiſſive, for it is only right that words of authority ſhould belong to her lord, and the wife's honour requires that ſhe ſhould liſten in peace and obedience." The good "chevalier" makes no remark on the huſband's brutality, as though it were by no means an unuſual occurrence.

A trouvère of the thirteenth century, named Robert de Blois, compiled a code of inſtructions in good manners for young ladies in French verſe, under the title of the "Chaſtiſement des Dames," which is printed by Barbazan, and forms a curious illuſtration of feudal domeſtic manners. It was unbecoming in a lady, according to Robert de Blois, to talk too much; ſhe ought eſpecially to refrain from boaſting of the attentions paid to her by the other ſex; and ſhe was recommended not to ſhow too much freedom in her games and amuſements, leſt the men ſhould be encouraged to libertiniſm. In going to church, ſhe was not to "trot or run," but to walk ſeriouſly, not going in advance of her company, and looking ſtraight before her, and not to this ſide or the other, but to ſalute "debonairely" all perſons ſhe met. She is recommended not to let men put their hands into her breaſts, or kiſs her on the mouth, as it might lead to greater familiarities. She was not to look at a man too much, unless he were her acknowledged lover; and when ſhe had a lover, ſhe was not

to

to boaſt or talk too much of him. She was not to expoſe her body uncovered out of vanity, as her breaſt, or her legs, or her ſides, nor to undreſs in the preſence of men. She was not to be too ready in accepting preſents from the other ſex. The ladies are particularly warned againſt ſcolding and diſputing, againſt ſwearing, againſt eating and drinking too freely at table, and againſt getting drunk, the latter being a practice from which much miſchief might ariſe. A lady was not to cover her face when ſhe went in public, as a handſome face was made to be ſeen, and it was not good manners to remain with the face covered before a gentleman of rank. An exception, however, is made in the caſe of ugly or deformed faces, which might be covered. There was another exception to the counſel juſt mentioned. "A lady who is pale-faced, or who has not a good ſmell, ought to breakfaſt early in the morning; for good wine gives a very good colour; and ſhe who eats and drinks well muſt heighten her colour." One who has bad breath is recommended to eat aniſeed, fennel, and cumin to her breakfaſt, and to avoid breathing in people's faces. A lady is to be very attentive to her behaviour in church, rules for which are given. If ſhe could ſing, ſhe was to do ſo when aſked, and not require too much preſſing. Ladies are further recommended to keep their hands clean, to cut their nails often, and not to ſuffer them to grow beyond the finger, or to harbour dirt. In paſſing other people's houſes, ladies were not to look into them; "for a perſon often does things privately in his houſe, which he would not wiſh to be ſeen, if any one ſhould come before his door." For this reaſon, too, when a lady went into another perſon's houſe, ſhe is recommended to cough at the entrance, or to ſpeak out loud, ſo that the inmates might not be taken by ſurpriſe. The directions for a lady's behaviour at table are very particular. "In eating, you muſt avoid much laughing or talking. If you eat with another (*i. e.*, in the ſame plate, or of the ſame meſs), turn the niceſt bits to him, and do not go picking out the fineſt and largeſt for yourſelf, which is not courteous. Moreover, no one ſhould eat greedily a choice bit which is too large or too hot, for fear of choking or burning herſelf. . . . . Each time you drink, wipe your mouth well, that no greaſe may go into the wine, which is very unpleaſant to the perſon who drinks after you.

you. But when you wipe your mouth for drinking, do not wipe your eyes or noſe with the table-cloth, and avoid ſpilling from your mouth, or greaſing your hands too much." The lady is further, and particularly, recommended not to utter falſehoods. The remainder of the poem conſiſt of directions in making love and receiving the addreſſes of ſuitors. The "Book" of the chevalier de la Tour-Landry contains inſtructions for young ladies, in ſubſtance very much like theſe, but illuſtrated by ſtories and examples.

The chamber-maidens alſo went abroad, like the young ſons of gentlemen; but female ſervants who came as ſtrangers appear not in general to have been well regarded, and they probably were, or were conſidered as, a lower claſs. The circumſtance of their having left the country where they were known, was looked upon as *prima facie* evidence that their conduct had brought them into diſcredit there. The author of the "Ménagier de Paris" adviſes his daughter never to take any ſuch *chambrières*, without having firſt ſent to make ſtrict inquiries about them in the parts from whence they came. This ſame early writer on domeſtic economy divides the ſervants, who, in a large houſehold, were very numerous, into three claſſes: thoſe who were employed on a ſudden, and only for a certain work, with regard to whom the principal caution given is to bargain with them for the price of their labour before they begin; thoſe who were employed for a certain time in a particular deſcription of work, as tailors, ſhoemakers, butchers, and others, who always came to work in the houſe on materials belonging to the maſter of the houſe, or harveſt-men, &c., in the country; and domeſtic ſervants who were hired by the year. Theſe latter were expected to pay an abſolute paſſive obedience to the lord and lady of the houſehold, and to thoſe ſet in authority by them. The lady of the houſe had the eſpecial charge of the female ſervants, and the "Ménagier" contains rather minute directions as to her houſekeeping duties. She was to require of the maid-ſervants, "that early in the morning the entrance to your hoſtel, that is, the hall, and the other places by which people enter and ſtop in the hoſtel to converſe, be ſwept and made clean, and that the footſtools and covers of the benches and forms be duſted and ſhaken, and after this that the other

other chambers be in like manner cleaned and arranged for the day." They were next to attend to and feed all the "chamber animals," ſuch as pet dogs, cage birds, &c. The next thing to be done was to portion out to each ſervant her or his work for the day. At midday the ſervants were to have their firſt meal, when they were to be fed plentifully, but "only of one meat, and not of ſeveral or of any delicacies; and give them one only kind of drink, nouriſhing but not heady, whether wine or other; and admoniſh them to eat heartily, and to drink well and plentifully, for it is right that they ſhould eat all at once, without ſitting too long, and at one breath, without repoſing on their meal, or halting, or leaning with their elbows on the table; and as ſoon as they begin to talk, or to reſt on their elbows, make them riſe, and remove the table." After their "ſecond labour," and on feaſt-days, the ſervants were to have another, apparently a lighter, repaſt, and laſtly, in the evening (*au veſpre*), they were to have another abundant meal, like their dinner, and then, "if the ſeaſon required it," they were to be "warmed and made comfortable." The lady of the houſe was then, by herſelf or a deputy on whom ſhe could depend, to ſee that the houſe was cloſed, and to take charge of the keys, that nobody could go out or come in; and then to have all the fires carefully "covered," and ſend all the ſervants to bed, taking care that they put out their candles properly, to prevent the riſk of fire. In the Engliſh poem of the "Seven Sages," printed by Weber, the emperor is deſcribed as going to his chamber, after the time of locking windows and gates—

> *Whan men leke windowe and gate,*
> *Themparour com to chambre late.*—Weber, III. 60.

And it appears from a tale in the ſame collection, that the doors and windows were unlocked at daybreak—

> *Tho* (when) *the day dawen gan,*
> *Awai ſtal the yonge man;*
> *Men unlek dore and windowe.*—Ib., p. 87.

There was another duty performed by the ladies in the mediæval houſehold, which was a very important one in an age of turbulence, and muſt not be overlooked—they were both nurſes and doctors. Medical men

men were not then at hand to be conſulted, and the ſick or wounded man was handed over to the care of the miſtreſs of the houſe and her maidens. The reader of Chaucer will remember the medicinal knowledge diſplayed by dame Pertelot in the "Nonne-Preſtes Tale." Medicinal herbs were grown in every garden, and were dried or made into decoctions, and kept for uſe. In the early romances we often meet with ladies who poſſeſſed plants and other objects which poſſeſſed the power of miraculous cures, and which they had obtained in ſome myſterious manner. Thus, in the Carlovingian romance of "Gaufrey," when Robaſtre was ſo dangerouſly wounded that there remained no hope of his life, the good wife of the traitor Grifon undertook to cure him. "And ſhe went to a coffer and opened it, and took out of it a herb which has ſo great virtue that whoever takes it will be relieved from all harm. She pounded and mixed it in a mortar, and then came to Robaſtre and gave it him. It had no ſooner paſſed his throat than he was as ſound as an apple" ("Gaufrey," p. 119). So in "Fierabras" (p. 67), the Saracen princeſs Floripas had in her chamber the powerful "mandeglore" (mandrake), which ſhe applied to the wounds of Oliver, and they were inſtantly healed. In the "Roman de la Violette" (p. 104), when Gerart, deſperately wounded, is carried into the caſtle, the maiden who was lady of it took him into a chamber, and there took off his armour, undreſſed him, and put him to bed. They examined all his wounds, and applied to them ointments of great efficacy, and under this treatment he ſoon recovered. In the Engliſh romance of "Amis and Amiloun," when ſir Amiloun is diſcovered ſtruck with leproſy, the wife of his friend Amis takes him into her chamber, ſtrips him of all his clothing, bathes him herſelf, and then puts him to bed—

Into hir chaumber ſhe can him lede,
And keſt of al his pover wede (poor clothes),
And bathed his bodi al bare;
And to a bedde ſwithe (quickly) *him brought,*
With clothes riche and wele ywrought;
Ful blithe of him thai ware.—Weber, ii. 459.

To the knowledge of medicines was too often added another knowledge, that of poiſons—a ſcience which was carried to a great degree of perfection

feĉtion in the middle ages, and of which there were regular profeſſors. The praĉtice of poiſoning was, indeed, carried on to a frightful extent, and it appears, from a variety of evidence, that women were commonly agents in it.

A great part of the foregoing remarks apply excluſively to the ariſtocratic portion of ſociety, which included all thoſe who had the right to become knights. Through the whole extent of this portion of ſociety one blood was believed to run, which was diſtinguiſhed from that of all other claſſes by the title of "gentle blood." The pride of gentle blood, which was one of the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of feudaliſm, was very great in the middle ages. It was believed that the mark of this blood could never diſappear; and many of the mediæval ſtories turn upon the circumſtance of a child of gentle blood having been ſtolen or abandoned in its earlier infancy, and bred up, without any knowledge of its origin, as a peaſant among peaſants, or as a burgher among burghers, but diſplaying, as it grew towards manhood, by its conduĉt, the unmiſtakable proofs of its gentle origin, in ſpite of education and example. The burgher claſs—the merchant or tradeſman, or the manufaĉturer—appear always as money-getting and money-ſaving people, and individuals often became very rich. This circumſtance became a temptation, on the one hand, to the ariſtocrat, whoſe tendency was uſually, through his prodigality, to become poor, and, on the other, to the rich man of no blood, who ſought to buy ariſtocratic alliances by his wealth, and intermarriages between the two claſſes were not very unfrequent. In moſt caſes, at leaſt in the romances and ſtories, it was an ariſtocratic young lady who became united with a wealthy merchant, and it was uſually a ſtroke of ſelfiſh policy on the part of the lady's father. In the fabliau of the "Vilain Mire" (Barbazan, ii. 1)—the origin of Molière's "Médecin malgré lui,"—and in one or two other old ſtories, the ariſtocratic young lady is married to an agriculturiſt. Marriages of this deſcription are repreſented as being never happy; the huſband has no ſympathy for his wife's gentility, and, according to the code of "chivalry," the lady was perfeĉtly juſtified in being unfaithful to her huſband as often as ſhe liked, eſpecially if ſhe ſinned with men who were ſuperior to him in blood.

It

It was common for the burgher claſs to ape gentility, even among people of a lower order; for the great merchant was often ſuperior in education and in intelligence, as he was in wealth, to the great majority of the ariſtocratic claſs. In Chaucer, even the wife of the miller aſpired to the ariſtocratic title of madame—

Ther durſte no wight clepe (call) *hir but madame.*—Cant. Tales, l. 3954.

And in ſpeaking of the wives of various burghers who joined in the pilgrimage, the poet remarks—

It is right fair for to be clept (called) *madame.* – Ibid., l. 378.

The burghers alſo cheriſhed a number of ſervants and followers in their houſehold, or *meſnie*. In the fabliau of "La Borgoiſe d'Orliens," the meſnie of the burgher, who is not repreſented as a perſon of wealth or diſtinction, conſiſts of two nephews, a lad who carried water, three chamber-maidens, a niece, two pautoniers, and a ribald, and theſe were all harboured in the hall. The pautonier was only another name for the ribald, or perhaps it was a ſub-claſs or diviſion of the infamous claſs who lived paraſitically upon the ſociety of the middle ages. Even the ordinary agriculturiſt had his *meſnie*.

What I have ſaid of the great diſſoluteneſs and immorality of the ariſtocratic claſs applies more eſpecially to the houſeholds of the greater barons, though the ſame ſpirit muſt have ſpread itſelf far through the whole claſs. The ariſtocratic claſs was itſelf divided into two claſſes, or rather two ranks,—the great barons, and the knights and leſſer landholders, and the diviſion between theſe two claſſes became wider, and the latter more abſolutely independent, as the power of feudaliſm declined. Theſe latter were the origin of that claſs which in more modern times has been known by the title of the old country gentleman. As far as we can judge from what we know of them, I am led to think that this claſs was the moſt truly dignified, and in general the moſt moral, portion of mediæval ſociety. There is abundant evidence that the tone of morality in the burgher and agricultural claſſes was not high; and the whole tenor of mediæval popular and hiſtorical literature can leave no doubt on

our minds that in the middle ages the clergy were the great corruptors of domeſtic virtue among both theſe claſſes. The character of the women, as deſcribed in the old ſatiriſts and ſtory-tellers, as well as in records of a ſtill more ſtrictly truthful character, was very low, and, in the towns eſpecially, they are deſcribed as ſpending much of their time in the taverns, drinking and goſſiping. Of courſe there were everywhere —and, it is to be truſted, not a few—bright exceptions to this general character.

CHAPTER XIII.

OCCUPATIONS OUT OF DOORS.—THE PLEASURE-GARDEN.—THE LOVE OF FLOWERS, AND THE FASHION OF MAKING GARLANDS.—FORMALITIES OF THE PROMENADE.—GARDENING IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

HUMBOLDT, in his "Coſmos," has dwelt on the taſte for the beauties of nature which has prevailed among various peoples, and at different periods of the world's hiſtory, but he appears to me to have by no means appreciated or done juſtice to the force of this ſentiment among our forefathers in the middle ages, and, perhaps I may ſay, eſpecially in England. In our ancient popular poetry, the mention of the ſeaſon of the year at which an event happens generally draws from the poet ſome alluſion to the charms of nature peculiar to it, to the ſweetneſs of the flowers, the richneſs of the fruit, or the harmony of the ſong of birds. In ſome of the early romances, each new diviſion of the poem is introduced by an alluſion of this kind. Thus, at the opening of what the editor calls the firſt chapter of the ſecond part of the romance of "Richard Cœur de Lion," the poet tells us how it—

Merye is in the tyme of May,
Whenne foulis ſynge in her lay;
Floures on appyl-trees and perye (pear-tree);
Smale foules ſynge merye.
Ladyes ſtrowe here boures (chambers)
With rede roſes and lylye flowres;
Gret joye is in frith (grove) *and lake.*—Weber, ii. 149.

Such interruptions of the narrative are frequent in the long romance of "Alexander" (Alexander the Great), and are always expreſſive. Thus, on one occaſion the poet tells us, abruptly enough, how—

Whan corn ripeth in every ſteode (place),
Mury (pleaſant) *it is in feld and hyde* (meadow).—Ibid., l. 24.

And

And again, introduced equally abruptly, we are informed—

In tyme of herveſt mery it is ynough;
Peres and apples hongeth on bough.
The hayward bloweth mery his horne;
In everyche (every) *felde ripe is corne;*
The grapes hongen on the vyne;
Swete is trewe love and fyne.—Weber, p. 238.

When, indeed, we conſider the confined and dark character of moſt of the apartments of the feudal dwelling, we cannot be ſurpriſed if our mediæval forefathers loved the recreations which brought them into the open air. Caſtles and country manſions had always their gardens and pleaſure-grounds, which were much frequented by all the different branches of the houſehold. The readers of Chaucer will remember the deſcription of the "noble" knight January—

Amonges other of his homeſt thinges,
He had a gardyn walled al with ſtoon,
So fair a gardyn wot I no wher noon.

It is implied, at leaſt, that this garden was extenſive, and—

This noble knight, this January the olde,
Such deynté hath in it to walk and playe,
That he wold no wight ſuffre bere the keye,
Save he himſelf.—Chaucer, The Marchaundes Tale.

So, in the curious popular collection of mediæval ſtories, entitled the "Seven Sages," we are told of a rich burgeſs who

Hadde, bihinden his paleys,
A fair gardin of nobleys,
Ful of appel-tres, and als (also) *of pirie* (pear-trees);
Foules ſonge therinne murie.
Amideward that gardyn fre,
So wax (grew) *a pinnote-tre,*
That hadde fair bowes and frut;
Ther under was al his dedut (pleasure).
He made ther-under a grene bench,
And drank ther under many a ſſchench (cupful).—Weber, iii. 23.

And again, in the ſame collection of ſtories, a prudent mother, counſelling her daughter, tells her—

Daughter, thi loverd (lord) *hath a gardin,*
A wel fair ympe (young tree) *is tharin;*

A fair

A fair harbeth (arbour) *hit overſpredeth,*
Alle his ſolas therinne he ledeth.—Weber, iii. 69.

In Chaucer's "Frankeleynes Tale," when the lady Dorigen was in want of amuſement to make her forget the abſence of her huſband, her friends, finding that the ſea-ſhore was not ſufficiently gay,—

Schope hem for to pleien ſomwhere elles,
They leden hire by rivers and by welles,
And eke in other places delitables;
They dauncen, and they pley at ches and tables.
So on a day, right in the morwe tide,
Unto a gardeyn that was ther beſide,
In which that they had made her ordinance
Of vitaile, and of other purveance,
They gon and plaie hem al the longe day:
And this was on the ſixte morwe of May,
Which May had painted with his ſoſte ſchoures
This gardeyn ful of leves and of floures:
And craft of mannes hond ſo curiouſly
Arrayed had this gardeyn of ſuche pris
As if it were the verray paradis.
. . . . .
And after dinner gan thay to daunce
And ſinge alſo; ſauf Dorigen alone.

An important incident in the ſtory here occurs, after which—

Tho (then) *come hir other frendes many on,*
And in the alleyes romed up and down,
And nothing wiſt of this concluſioun,
But ſodeynly began to revel newe,
Til that the brighte ſonne had loſt his hewe.

It would be eaſy to multiply ſuch deſcriptions as the foregoing, but we will only refer to the well-known one at the commencement of the "Romance of the Rose," where the carolling is deſcribed with more minuteneſs than uſual. There were employed minſtrels, and "jogelours," and apparently even tumblers, which are thus deſcribed in Chaucer's Engliſh verſion:—

Tho (then) *myghtiſt thou karoles ſene,*
And folk daunce and mery bene,
And made many a faire tournyng
Upon the grene gras ſpringyng.

There

There myghtiſt thou ſe theſe ſlowtours,
Mynſtrales and eke jogelours,
That wel to ſynge dide her peyne,
Somme ſonge ſonges of Loreyne;
For in Loreyn her notes bee
Fulle ſwetter than in this contré.
There was many a tymbeſter,
And ſaillouris (jumpers, or tumblers), *that I dar wel ſwere*
Coutbe (knew) *her craft ful parfitly,*
The tymbris up ful ſotilly
They caſte and bente fulle ofte
Upon a fynger faire and ſofte,
That they ne failide never mo.
Ful fetys damyſeles two,
Ryght yonge, and fulle of ſemelybede,
In kirtles and noon other wede,
And faire treſſed every treſſe,
Hadde Myrthe doon for his nobleſſe
Amydde the karole for to daunce.
But herof lieth no remembraunce
How that they daunced queyntly,
That oon wolde come alle pryvyly
Agayn that other, and whan they were
Togidre almoſt, they threwe yfere (in company)
Her mouthis ſo, that thorough her play
It ſemed as they kiſte alway.
To dauncen welle koude they the giſe,
What ſhulde I more to you devyſe?

Theſe lines ſhow us that our forefathers in the middle ages had their dancing girls, juſt as they had and ſtill have them in the Eaſt; it was one trait of the mixture of Oriental manners with thoſe of Europe which had taken place ſince the cruſades.

In theſe extracts, indeed, we have alluſions to the practices of dancing and ſinging, of playing at cheſs and tables, of drinking, and even of dining, in the gardens. Our engraving No. 194, taken from the romance of "Alexander," in the Bodleian Library, repreſents a garden ſcene, in which two royal perſonages are playing at cheſs. Dancing in the open air was a very common recreation, and is not unfrequently alluded to. In the Roman de Geſte, known by the title of "La Mort de Garin," a large dinner party is given in a garden—

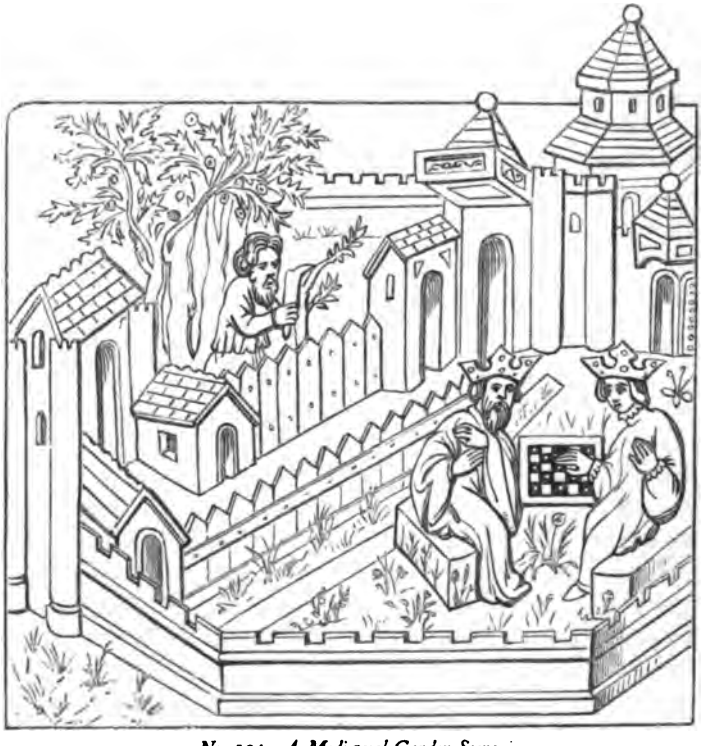
Les napes metent pardeaus un jardin.—Mort de Garin, p. 28.

And,

And, in the "Roman de Berte" (p. 4), Charles Martel is repreſented as dining ſimilarly in the garden, at the midſummer ſeaſon, when the roſe was in bloſſom—

Entour le ſaint Jehan, que la roſe eſt fleurie.

There is an early Latin ſtory of a man who had a croſſ-grained wife. One day he invited ſome friends to dinner, and ſet out his table in his



No. 194. *A Mediæval Garden Scene.*

garden, by the ſide of a river (*fecit poni menſam in hortu ſuo prope aquam*). The lady ſeated herſelf by the water-ſide, at a little diſtance from the table, and caſt a very forbidding look upon her huſband's gueſts; upon which he ſaid to her, "Show a pleaſant countenance to our gueſts, and come

come nearer the table;" but ſhe only moved further off, and nearer the brink of the river, with her back turned to the water. He repeated his invitation in a more angry tone, in reply to which, to ſhow her ill-humour, ſhe drew further back, with a quick movement of ill-temper, through which, forgetting the nearneſs of the river, ſhe fell into it, and was drowned. The huſband, pretending great grief, ſent for a boat, and proceeded up the ſtream in ſearch of her body. This excited ſome ſurpriſe among his neighbours, who ſuggeſted to him that he ſhould go down the ſtream, and not up. "Ah!" ſaid he, "you did not know my wife—ſhe did everything in contradiction, and I firmly believe that her body has floated againſt the current, and not with it."

Even among the ariſtocratic claſs the garden was often the place for giving audience and receiving friends. In the romance of "Garin le Loherain," a meſſenger ſent to the count Fromont, one of the great barons, finds him ſitting in a garden ſurrounded by his friends—

Trouva Fromont ſeant en un jardin;
Environ lui avoit de ſes amins.—Roman de Garin, I. 282.

A favourite occupation of the ladies in the middle ages was making garlands and chaplets of flowers. In the "Lai d'Ariſtote" (Barbazan, iii. 105, 107), king Alexander's beautiful miſtreſs is deſcribed as deſcending early in the morning, walking in the garden alone, and making herſelf a chaplet of flowers. In another fabliau, publiſhed in Germany by Adelbert Keller, a Saracenic maiden deſcends from her chamber into the garden, performs her toilette at the fountain there, and then makes herſelf a chaplet of flowers and leaves, which ſhe puts on her head. So Emelie, in Chaucer's "Knights Tale,"—

Iclothed was ſche freſſh for to devyſe.
Hire yolwe (yellow) *heer was browdid in a treſſe*
Byhynde hire bak, a yerde long, I geſſe.
And in the gardyn at the ſonne upriſte (sun-rise)
Sche walketh up and doun wheer as hire liſte;
Sche gadereth floures, partye whyte and reede,
To make a certeyn gerland for hire heede,
And as an aungel hevenly ſche ſong.

A little further on, Arcyte goes at daybreak into the fields to make him a chaplet,

chaplet, of the leaves of woodbine or hawthorn, for it muſt be remembered that this takes place in the month of May, which was eſpecially the ſeaſon for wearing garlands. In "Blonde of Oxford," Jean of Dammartin, ſeeking his miſtreſs, finds her in a meadow making herſelf a chaplet of flowers—

A dont de la chambre ſ'avance,
De là le vit en i. prael
U ele faiſoit un capiel.—Blonde of Oxford, p. 30.

Our cut No. 195, taken from a well-known manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum, of the beginning of the fourteenth century (MS. Reg. 2 B. vii.), repreſents a party of ladies in the garden, gathering flowers, and making

No. 195. *Ladies making Garlands.*

garlands. The love of flowers, as I have ſtated in a former chapter, ſeems to have prevailed generally among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, and affectionate alluſions to them occur, not unfrequently, in the literary remains of that early period. Many of our old favourite garden-flowers are, I believe, derived from the Anglo-Saxon gardens. Proofs of a ſimilar attachment to flowers might be quoted in abundance from the writings of the periods ſubſequent to the entrance of the Normans. The wearing of garlands or chaplets of flowers was a common practice with both ſexes. In the romantic hiſtory of the Fitz-Warines, written in the thirteenth

century, the hero, in travelling, meets a young knight who, in token of his joyous humour, carries a chaplet of flowers on his head. In the later Engliſh romance of the "Squyer of Lowe Degree," when the "ſquyer" was preparing to do his office of carver in the hall—

There he araied him in ſcarlet red,
And ſet a chaplet upon his hed;
A belte about his ſydes two,
White brod barres to and fro.

Walter de Bibleſworth talks of ladies dancing the carole, their heads crowned with garlands of the blue-bottle flower—

Mener karole
De'oun chapeau de blaverole.—Vocabularies, p. 161.

Garlands of flowers were alſo the common rewards for ſucceſs in the popular games.

All theſe enjoyments naturally rendered the garden a favourite and important part of every man's domeſtic eſtabliſhment; during the warmer months of the year it was a choſen place of reſort, eſpecially after dinner. In the romance of "Garin le Loherain," Begues is repreſented as deſcending from his palace, after dinner, to walk with his fair wife Beatrice in his garden—

En ſon palais fu Begues de Belin;
Après mangier entra en un jardin,
Aveuc lui fu la belle Biatris.—Roman de Garin, vol. ii. p. 97.

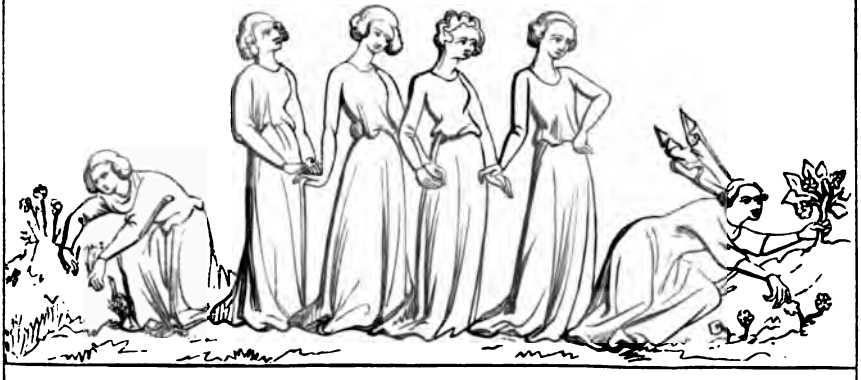
In another part of the ſame romance, Begues de Belin and his barons, on riſing from the table, went to ſeek recreation in the fields—

Quant mangié ont et beu à loiſir,
Les napes oſtent, et en prés ſunt ſailli.—Ibid., vol. i. p. 203.

The manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum, from which we took our laſt illuſtration, furniſhes the accompanying repreſentation of a group of ladies walking in the garden, and gathering flowers (No. 196).

In the "Ménagier de Paris," compiled about the year 1393, its author, addreſſing his young wife, treats briefly of the behaviour of a woman when

when ſhe is walking out, and eſpecially when paſſing along the ſtreets of a town, or going to church. "As you go," he ſays, "look ſtraight before you, with your eye-lids low and fixed, looking forward to the ground, at five toiſes (thirty feet) before you, and not looking at, or turning your



No. 196. *Ladies walking in the Garden.*

eyes, to man or woman who may be to your right or left, nor looking upwards, nor changing your look from one place to another, nor laughing, nor ſtopping to ſpeak to anybody in the ſtreet" (vol. i. p. 15). It muſt be confeſſed that this is, in ſome points, rather hard counſel for a lady to follow; but it is conſiſtent with the general ſyſtem of formalities of behaviour in the middle ages, upon which the ladies gladly took their revenge when removed from conſtraint. When two or more perſons walked together, it was the cuſtom to hold each other by the hands, not to walk arm-in-arm, which appears to be a very modern practice. In the romance of "Ogier le Danois," the emperor and Ogier, when reconciled, are thus repreſented, walking in a friendly manner hand in hand. The ladies in our laſt engraving are walking in this manner; and in our next (No. 197),—taken from a copy, given in M. du Sommerard's "Album," from a manuſcript in the library of the arſenal at Paris, written and illuminated for a prince of the houſe of Burgundy, in the fifteenth century,—the lords and ladies of a noble or princely houſehold are repreſented as walking out in the ſame manner. It is well known that the court

court of Burgundy, in the fifteenth century, offered the model of ſtrict etiquette. This illuſtration gives us alſo a very good picture of a ſtreet ſcene of the period to which it belongs. The height of gentility, however, at leaſt, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, ſeems to have been

No. 197. *A Promenade Scene in the Fifteenth Century.*

to hold the lady by the finger only. It is in this manner that, in the romance of "Ogier le Danois," the hero holds the princeſs Gloriande—

> *Donques enmainne le bon Danois Ogier,*
> *E Gloriande,* qui par le doit le tient.—Roman d'Ogier, p. 110.

So,

So, in the romance of "La Violette," at the feſtivities given by the king, the gueſts "diſtributed themſelves in couples in the hall (*i. e.* a gentleman with a lady), *one taking the other by the finger,* and ſo they arranged themſelves two and two"—

Quant il orent aſſés deduit,
Par la ſale ſ'acoinſent tuit;
Li uns prent l'autre par le doi,
Si ſ'arangierent doi et doi.—Roman de la Violette, p. 10.

In the curious poem entitled "La Court de Paradis," the ſainted ladies in heaven are repreſented as thus walking and holding each other by the finger,—

L'une tint l'autre par les dois.—Barbazan, iii. 139.

As a mark of great familiarity, two princes, Pepin's ſon, Charles, and the duke Namles, are repreſented in the romance of "Ogier" as one, Charles, holding his hand on the duke's ſhoulder, while the duke held him by his mantle, as they walked along; they were going to church together:—

Kalles ſa main li tint deſus l'eſpaule;
Namles tint lui par le mantel de paile.
Roman d'Ogier, p. 143.

No. 198. *A Biſhop Preaching.*

It may be remarked that ſitting was equally a matter of etiquette with walking, though we ſometimes meet with ladies and gentlemen ſeated in a manner which is anything but ceremonious. In the annexed cut (No. 198), taken from a manuſcript of the fourteenth century, the reference to which I have unfortunately loſt, a number of ladies, ſeated on the ground, and apparently in the open air, are liſtening to the admonitions of an epiſcopal preacher.

As I have introduced the ſubject of the love of our forefathers for trees and flowers, ſome account of gardening in the middle ages will not be

be out of place, eſpecially as what has hitherto been written on the hiſtory of gardening in England during this early period, has been very imperfect and incorrect. We have no direct information relating to the gardens of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers—in fact, our knowledge is limited to a few words gathered from the old vocabularies. The ordinary names for a garden, *wyrt-tun* and *wyrt-geard*, a plant-incloſure and a plant-yard, are entirely indefinite, for the word *wyrt* was applied to all plants whatever, and perhaps they indicate what we ſhould call the kitchen-garden. The latter word, which was ſometimes ſpelt *ort-geard*, *orc-geard*, and *orcyrd*, was the origin of our modern *orchard*, which is now limited to an incloſure of fruit-trees. Flowers were probably cultivated in the incloſed ſpace round the houſes. It would appear that the Saxons, before they became acquainted with the Romans, cultivated very few plants, if we may judge from the circumſtance that throughout the Anglo-Saxon period the names by which theſe were known were nearly all derived from the Latin. The leek appears to have been the principal table vegetable among the Anglo-Saxons, as it was among the Welſh; its name, *leac*, or *leah*, is pure Anglo-Saxon, and its importance was conſidered ſo much above that of any other vegetable, that *leac-tun*, the leek-garden, became the common name for the kitchen-garden, and *leac-weard*, a leek-keeper, was uſed to deſignate the gardener. The other alliaceous plants were conſidered as ſo many varieties of the leek, and were known by ſuch names as *enne-leac*, or *ynne-leac*, ſuppoſed to be the onion, and *gar-leac*, or garlic. *Bean* is alſo an Anglo-Saxon word; but, ſingularly enough, the Anglo-Saxons ſeem not to have been originally acquainted with peas, for the only name they had for them was the Latin *piſa*, and *pyſe*. Even for the cabbage tribe, the only Anglo-Saxon name we know is ſimply the Latin *braſſica;* and the colewort, which was named *cawl*, and *cawl-wyrt*, was derived from the Latin *caulis*. So the turnip was called *næpe*, from the Latin *napus;* and *rædic*, or radiſh, is perhaps from *raphanus*.* Garden creſſes, parſley, mint, ſage, rue,

* To show the extreme ignorance which has prevailed on the history of English gardening in the middle ages, it need only be mentioned that Loudon, "Encyclo-

and

and other herbs,* were in uſe, but moſtly, except the creſſes, with Latin names.

We have long liſts of flowering plants in the Anglo-Saxon vocabularies, but as they are often difficult to identify, and, being chiefly enumerated for their medicinal qualities, are moſtly wild plants, they throw little light on the character of the flower-garden. For the garden roſe and the lily they uſed the Roman names *roſe* and *lilie;* the latter appears to have been an eſpecially favourite flower among the Anglo-Saxons. Among other plants, evidently belonging to the garden, are ſuthernwood, *ſutherne-wude,* the turnſole or ſunflower, called *ſigel-hwerfe* (the gem-turned) or *ſolſæce* (which is merely the Latin *ſolſequium*), the violet (*clæfre*), the marigold, called *read-clæfre,* the gilliflower, *hwit-clæfre,* the periwinkle, *pervincæ,* the honeyſuckle, *hunig-ſucle,* the piony, for which the Anglo-Saxons had only the Latin word *pionia,* the daiſy, *dæges-eage,* and the *laur-beam,* which was perhaps the bay-tree rather than the laurel.

The chief fruit of the Anglo-Saxons was undoubtedly the apple, the name of which, *æppel,* belongs to their language. The tree was called an *apulder,* and the only varieties mentioned are the *ſurmelſt apulder,* or ſouring apple-tree, and the *ſwite apulder,* or ſweeting apple-tree. The Anglo-Saxons had orchards containing only apple-trees, to which they gave the name of an *apulder-tun,* or apple-tree garden; of the fruit of which they made what they called, and we ſtill call, cider, and which they alſo called *æppel-win,* or apple-wine. They appear to have received the pear from the Romans, as its name *pera,* a pear, and *piriga,* a pear-tree, was evidently taken from *pirus.* They had alſo derived from the Roman gardens, no doubt, the cherry-tree (*cyrſ-treow,* or *ciris-beam,*

pædia of Gardening" (edition of 1850), was not aware that the leek had been cultivated in England before the time of Tusser, the latter half of the sixteenth century (p. 854); and states that garlic "has been cultivated in this country since 1548" (p. 855); and that the radish is "an annual, a native of China, and was mentioned by Gerard in 1584" (p. 846).

* Loudon (p. 887) was not aware that the cultivation of sage dated farther back than the time of Gerard, who wrote in 1597, and he could trace back to no older date the cultivation of rue.

the

from the Latin *ceraſus*), the peach (*perſoc-treow*, from *perſicarius*), the mulberry (*mor-beam*, from *morus*), the cheſtnut (*cyſten*, *cyſt*, or *cyſtel-beam*, from *caſtaneus*),* perhaps the almond (*magdala-treow*, from *amigdalus*), the fig (*fic-beam*, from *ficus*), and the pine (*pin-treow*, from *pinus*). The ſmall kernels of the pine were uſed very extenſively in the middle ages, in the ſame way as olives. We muſt add to theſe the plum (*plum-treow*), the name of which is Anglo-Saxon; the medlar, which was known in Anglo-Saxon by a very unexplainable name, but one which was preſerved to a comparatively recent period; the quince, which was called a *cod-æple*, or bag-apple; the nut (*hnutu*), and the hazel-nut (*hæſel-hnutu*). They called the olive an oil-tree (*ale-beam*), which would ſeem to prove that they conſidered its principal utility to be for making oil. The vine was well-known to the Anglo-Saxons; they called it the *win-treow*, or wine-tree, its fruit, *winberige*, or wine berries, and a bunch of grapes, *geclyſtre*, a cluſter. We find no Anglo-Saxon words for gooſeberries or currants; but our forefathers were well acquainted with the ſtrawberry (*ſtrea-berige*) and the raſpberry, which they called *hynd-berige*. Perhaps theſe laſt-mentioned fruits, which are known to be natives of Britain, were known only in their wild ſtate.†

The earlieſt account of an Engliſh garden is given by Alexander Neckham, who flouriſhed in the latter half of the twelfth century, in the ſixty-ſixth chapter of the ſecond book of his treatiſe, *De naturis rerum*,

* Our word *cheſtnut* is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *cyſte-hnutu*, the nut of the cyſte-tree. I may remark, on these names of fruits, that Loudon imagined that the peach was "introduced into England about the middle of the ſixteenth century" ("Encyclopædia of Gardening," p. 912); and that of the fig, the "first trees were brought over from Italy by Cardinal Pole, in 1525." He ſeems to think that quinces and mulberries came into this country also in the course of the ſixteenth century.

† There is, however, an Anglo-Saxon name of a tree which I ſuspect has been miſinterpreted. The glossaries give "*ramnus*, þeſe-þorn," and our lexicographers, taking the old sense of the word *rhamnus*, interpret it, the dog-rose. But in a very curious glossary of names of plants of the middle of the thirteenth century, printed in my "Volume of Glossaries," in which the meaning of the Latin word is given in Anglo-Norman and in English, we have "*Ramni*, groſiler, þeſe-þorn" (p. 141). I have no doubt that the theſe-thorn was the gooseberry. In the dialect of Norfolk, gooseberries are ſtill called *theabes*.

which

which exiſts only in manuſcripts (I quote from one in the Britiſh Muſeum, MS. Reg. 12 G. xi.). He introduces at leaſt one plant, the mandrake, which was fabulous, and gives ſeveral names which I ſhall be obliged to leave in his original Latin, as, perhaps through corruption of the text, I cannot interpret them, but there can be little doubt that it is in general a correct enumeration of the plants and trees cultivated in a complete Engliſh garden of the period. "A garden," he ſays, "ſhould be adorned on this part with roſes, lilies, the marigold, *molis*, and mandrakes, and on that part with parſley, coſt, fennel, ſouthernwood, coriander, ſage, ſavery, hyſſop, mint, rue, dittany, ſmallage, pellitory, lettuce, creſſes, *ortulano*, and the piony. Let there alſo be beds (*areæ*) enriched with onions, leeks, garlic, melons, and ſcallions (*hinnuilis*). The garden is alſo ennobled by the cucumber which creeps on its belly, and by the ſoporiferous poppy, as well as by the daffodil and the acanthus. Nor let pot-herbs be wanting, if you can help it, ſuch as beets, herb mercury, orache, the *acedula*, (ſorrel?) and the mallow. It is uſeful alſo to the gardener to have aniſe, muſtard, white pepper, and wormwood." Neckam then goes on to the fruit-trees. "A noble garden," he ſays, "will give you medlars, quinces, the pear-main (*volema*), peaches, pears of St. Regle, pomegranates, citrons (or lemons), oranges, almonds, dates, and figs." When Neckam ſpeaks of a "noble garden," he of courſe ſpeaks of that of a great baron or prince, and enumerates fruits of choice, and moſtly above the common range. Medlars and quinces were formerly held in great eſteem, and much uſed. I have ventured to interpret *volema* as meaning the pearmain, which was conſidered one of the choiceſt apples, as the apple is not mentioned in the liſt, and as in one of the early gloſſaries that meaning is attached to the word. Peaches were, as we have ſeen, known to the Anglo-Saxons; and in 1276 we find ſlips of peach-trees mentioned in an official record as planted in the king's garden at Weſtminſter. The pear of St. Regle was one of the choice kinds of pears brought from France, and it and ſeveral other kinds of pears are enumerated in the accounts of the earl of Lincoln's garden in Holborn (London) in 1296. It is rather ſurpriſing that Mr. Hudſon Turner, in his very valuable volume on domeſtic architecture, where he ſuppoſes that *mala aurea* in Neckam's liſt were intended

for the golden apples of the Heſperides, ſhould not have known that the *malum aureum* of the middle ages was the orange. Pomegranates, citrons, oranges, almonds, dates, and figs, are known to have been cultivated in England at different periods, but it is not probable that the fruit came often to perfection. It may be remarked that Neckam gives a ſeparate chapter to the cultivation of the vine, which belonged to the vineyard, and not to the garden. After an enumeration of plants which were not grown in Weſtern Europe, Neckam gives a liſt of others, known for their medicinal qualities, ſome of which can hardly have been planted in a garden, unleſs it belonged to a phyſician; although it appears to have been the cuſtom to devote a corner of the garden to the medicinal plants moſt in uſe, in order that they might be ready at hand when wanted. The gardener's tools in the twelfth century, as enumerated by Neckam in his treatiſe *De Utenſilibus*, were few and ſimple; he had an axe, or twibill, a knife for grafting, a ſpade, and a pruning-hook.

John de Garlande lived during the firſt half of the thirteenth century. He was an Engliſhman, but had eſtabliſhed himſelf as a ſcholar in the univerſity of Paris, ſo that the deſcription of his garden which he gives in his "Dictionarius" may be conſidered as that of a garden in the neighbourhood of Paris, which, however, probably hardly differed from a garden in England. It may be conſidered as the garden of a reſpectable burgher. "In maſter John's garden are theſe plants, ſage, parſley, dittany, hyſſop, celandine, fennel, pellitory, the roſe, the lily, and the violet; and at the ſide (*i. e.* in the hedge), the nettle, the thiſtle, and foxgloves. His garden alſo contains medicinal herbs, namely, mercury and the mallow, agrimony, with nightſhade, and the marigold." Maſter John's gardener had alſo a garden for his potherbs, in which grew borage, leeks, garlic, muſtard, onions, cibols, and ſcallions; and in his ſhrubbery grew pimpernel, mouſeare, ſelfheal, buglos, adderſtongue, and "other herbs good for men's bodies."* Maſter John had in his fruit-garden, cherry-trees, pear-trees, apple-trees, plum-trees, quinces, medlars, peaches, cheſtnuts, nuts, wall-

* It may be well to remark, once for all, that it is almost impossible to identify some of these mediæval names of plants.

nuts,

nuts, figs, and grapes. Walter de Bibbleſworth, writing in England towards the cloſe of the thirteenth century, enumerates as the principal fruit-trees in a common garden, apples, pears, and cherries—

Pomere, perere, e cerecer;

and adds the plum-tree (*pruner*), and the quince-tree (*coingner*).

The cherry, indeed, appears to have been one of the moſt popular of fruits in England, during the mediæval period. The records of the time contain purchaſes of cherry-trees for the king's garden in Weſtminſter in 1238 and 1277, and cherries and cherry-trees are enumerated in all the gloſſaries from the times of the Anglo-Saxons to the ſixteenth century. The earl of Lincoln had cherry-trees in his garden in Holborn towards the cloſe of the thirteenth century, and during the ſame century we have alluſions to the cultivation of the cherry in other parts of the kingdom. The alluſions to cherries in the early poetry are not at all unfrequent, and they were cloſely mixed up with popular manners and feelings. It appears to have been the cuſtom, from a rather early period, to have fairs or feaſts, probably in the cherry orchards, during the period that the fruit was ripe, which were called cherry-fairs, and ſometimes cherry-feaſts; and theſe are remembered, if they do not ſtill exiſt, in our great cherry diſtricts, ſuch as Worceſterſhire and Kent. They were brief moments of great gaiety and enjoyment, and the poets loved to quote them as emblems of the tranſitory character of all worldly things. In the latter part of the fourteenth century, the poet Gower, ſpeaking of the teachers of religion and morality, ſays:—

They prechen us in audience
That no man ſchalle his ſoule empeyre (impair),
For alle is but a cherye-fayre.

And the ſame writer again:—

Sumtyme I drawe into memoyre,
How ſorow may not ever laſte,
And ſo cometh hope in at laſte,
Whan I non other foode knowe;
And that endureth but a throwe,
Ryght as it were a chery-feſte.

So again, under the reign of Henry IV., about the year 1411, Occleve, in his

his poem "De regimine principum," recently printed for the Roxburgh Club, ſays (p. 47),—

Thy lyfe, my ſone, is but a chery-feire.

During the reſt of the fifteenth century, the alluſions to the cherry-fairs are very frequent.* Yet in face of all this, and ſtill more, abundant evidence, Loudon ("Encyclopædia of Gardening," edition of 1850) ſays, "Some ſuppoſe that the cherries introduced by the Romans into Britain were loſt, and that they were re-introduced in the time of Henry VIII. by Richard Haines (it ſhould be Harris), the fruiterer to that monarch. But though we have no proof that cherries were in England at the time of the Norman conqueſt, or for ſome centuries after it, yet Warton has proved, by a quotation from Lidgate, a poet who wrote about or before 1415, that the hawkers in London were wont to expoſe cherries for ſale, in the ſame manner as is now done early in the ſeaſon."

To turn from the fruit-garden to the flower-garden, modern writers have fallen into many ſimilar miſtakes as to the ſuppoſed recent date of the introduction of various plants into this country. Loudon, for inſtance, ſays that we owe the introduction of the gilliflower, or clove-pink (*dianthus caryophyllus*), to the Flemings, who took refuge on our ſhores from the ſavage perſecutions of the duke of Alva, in the latter half of the ſixteenth century; whereas this flower was certainly well known, under the name of gillofres, ages before. Roſes, lilies, violets, and periwinkles, ſeem to have continued to be the favourite garden-flowers. A manuſcript of the fifteenth century in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Sloane, No. 1201) furniſhes us with a liſt of plants then conſidered neceſſary for a garden, arranged firſt alphabetically, and then in claſſes, of which I will here give verbatim the latter part, as the beſt illuſtration of the mediæval notion of a garden, and as being, at the ſame time, a very complete liſt. After the alphabetical liſt, the manuſcript goes on:—

Of the ſame herbes for potage.

Borage, langdebefe (1), vyolettes, malowes, marcury, daundelyoun, avence,

* For many references, the reader is referred to Halliwell's "Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words," under the word *Cherry-Fair*.

(1) Buglos.

myntes,

myntes, sauge, parcely, goldes (2), mageroum (3), ffenelle, carawey, red nettylle, oculus Christi (4), daysys, chervelle, lekez, colewortes, rapez, tyme, cyves, betes, alysaundre, letyse, betayne, columbyne, allia, astralogya rotunda, astralogia longa, basillicam (5), dylle, deteyne, hertestong, radiche, white pyper, cabagez, sedewale, spynache, coliaundre, ffoothistylle (6), orage, cartabus, lympens, nepte, clarey, pacience.

Of the same herbes for sauce.

Hertestonge, sorelle, pelytory, pelytory of spayne, deteyne, vyolettes, parcely, myntes.

Also of the same herbez for the coppe.

Cost, costmary, sauge, isope, rose mary, gyllofre, goldez, clarey, mageroum, rue.

Also of the same herbes for a salade.

Buddus of stanmarche (7), vyolette flourez, parcely, red myntes, syves (8), cresse of Boleyne, purselane, ramsons, calamyntes, primerose buddus, dayses, rapounses, daundelyoun, rokette, red nettelle, borage flourez, croppus of red ffenelle, selbestryve, chykynwede.

Also herbez to stylle (distill).

Endyve, rede rose, rose mary, dragans (9), skabiose, ewfrace (10), wermode, mogwede, beteyne, wylde tansey, sauge, isope, ersesmart.

Also herbes for savour and beauté.

Gyllofre gentyle, mageroum gentyle, brasyle, palma Christi, stycadose, meloncez, arcachaffe, scalacely (11), philyppendula (12), popy royalle, germaundre, cowsloppus of Jerusalem, verveyne, dylle, seynt Mare, garlek.

Also rotys (roots) *for a gardyne.*

Parsenepez, turnepez, radyche, karettes, galyngale, eryngez (13), saffrone.

Also for an herbere.

Vynes, rosers, lylés, thewberies (14), almondez, bay-trees, gourdes, date-trese, peche-trese, pyneappulle, pyany romain, rose campy, cartabus, seliane, columbyne gentyle, elabre.

The processes of gardening were simple and easy, and the gardener's skill consisted chiefly in the knowledge of the seasons for sowing and

(2) The corn-marigold. (3) Marjoram. (4) Clary. (5) Basil. (6) Probably sowthistle, although it is placed under the letter F in the alphabetical list. (7) The plant Alexander. (8) Cives. (9) The herb serpentine. (10) Eyebright. (11) Better known as Solomon's seal. (12) Dropwort. (13) Eringoes. (14) Gooseberries? See before, p. 296.

planting

planting different herbs and trees, and of the aſtrological circumſtances under which theſe proceſſes could be performed moſt advantageouſly. The great ambition of the mediæval horticulturiſt was to excel in the various myſteries of grafting, and he entertained theories on this ſubject of the moſt viſionary character, many of which were founded on the writings of the ancients; for the mediæval theoriſts were accuſtomed to ſelect from the doctrines of antiquity that which was moſt viſionary, and it uſually became ſtill more viſionary in their hands. Two Engliſh treatiſes on gardening were current in the fifteenth century, one founded upon the Latin treatiſe of Palladius, and entitled "Godfrey upon Palladie de Agricultura," the other by Nicholas Bollarde, a monk of Weſtminſter—the monks were great gardeners. Theſe treatiſes occur not unfrequently in manuſcripts, and both are found in the Britiſh Muſeum, in the Sloane MS., No. 7. An abridgment of them was edited by Mr. Halliwell, from the Porkington manuſcript, in a collection of "Early Engliſh Miſcellanies," printed for the Warton Club. In theſe treatiſes, cherry-trees appear to have been more than any others the ſubjects of experiment, and to have been favourite ſtocks for grafting. Among the receipts given in theſe treatiſes we may mention thoſe for making cherries grow without ſtones, and other fruit without cores; for making the fruit of trees bear any colour you like; for making old trees young; for making ſour fruit ſweet; and "to have grapes ripe as ſoon as pears or cherries." This was to be brought about by grafting the vine on a cherry-tree, according to the following directions, the ſpelling of which I moderniſe:—"Set a vine by a cherry till it grow, and at the beginning of February when time is, make a hole through the cherry-tree at what height thou wilt, and draw through the vine branch ſo that it fill the hole, and ſhave away the old bark of the vine as much as ſhall be in the hole, and put it in ſo that the part ſhaven fill the hole full, and let it ſtand a year till they be 'ſouded' together, then cut away the root end of the vine, and lap it with clay round about, and keep it ſo after other graftings aforeſaid." This is from Nicholas Bollarde. Godfrey upon Palladius tells us how "to have many roſes. Take the hard pepins that be right ripe, and ſow them in February or March, and when they ſpring, water them well, and after

after a year complete thou mayſt tranſplant them; and if thou wilt have timely (early) roſes, delve about the roots one or two handbreadths, and water their ſcions with warm water; and for to keep them long, put them in honeycombs." According to the receipts edited by Mr. Halliwell, "If thou wilt that in the ſtone of a peach-apple (this was the ordinary name for a peach) be found a nut-kernel, graft a ſpring (ſprout) of a peach-tree on the ſtock of a nut-tree. Alſo a peach-tree ſhall bring forth pomegranates, if it be ſprong (ſprinkled) oft times with goat's milk three days when it beginneth to flower. Alſo the apples of a peach-tree ſhall wax red, if its ſcion be grafted on a playne tree." Such were the intellectual vagaries of "ſuperſtitious eld."

Peaches are frequently mentioned among the fruit of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; but nectarines or apricots are not met with before the fifteenth century. The latter were called in old Engliſh by their French name of *abricots*, and ſubſequently, and ſtill more frequently, apricocks.

CHAPTER XIV.

AMUSEMENTS.—PERFORMING BEARS.—HAWKING AND HUNTING.—RIDING.—CARRIAGES.—TRAVELLING.—INNS AND TAVERNS.—HOSPITALITY.

DURING the period of which we are treating, the ſame rough ſports were in vogue among the uneducated claſſes that had exiſted for ages before, and which continued for ages after. Many of theſe were trials of ſtrength, ſuch as wreſtling and throwing weights, with archery, and other exerciſes of that deſcription; others were of a leſs civiliſed character, ſuch as cockfighting and bear and bull-baiting. Theſe latter were favourite amuſements, and there was ſcarcely a town or village of any magnitude which had not its bull-ring. It was a municipal enactment in all towns and cities that no butcher ſhould be allowed to kill a bull until it had been baited. The bear was an animal in great favour in the middle ages, and was not only uſed for baiting, but was tamed and taught various performances. I have already, in a former chapter, given an example of a dancing bear under the Anglo-Saxons; the accompanying cut (No. 199) is another, taken from a manuſcript of the beginning of the thirteenth century, in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Arundel. No. 91).

No. 199. A Dancing-Bear.

I fear the fact cannot be concealed that the ladies of former days aſſiſted not unfrequently at theſe rough and unfeminine paſtimes. There can be no doubt that they were cuſtomary ſpectators of the baiting of bulls and bears. Henry VIII.'s two

two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, witneſſed this coarſe amuſement, as we are aſſured by contemporary writers, with great ſatisfaction. The ſcene repreſented in our cut No. 200, which is copied from one of the carved ſeats, of the fourteenth century, in Glouceſter cathedral, is chiefly

No. 200. *Baiting the Bear.*

remarkable for the ſmall degree of energy—the quiet dignity, in fact—diſplayed by the actors in it.

Hawking and hunting, eſpecially the former, were the favourite recreations of the upper claſſes. Hawking was conſidered ſo honourable an occupation, that people were in the cuſtom of carrying the hawk on their fiſts when they walked or rode out, when they viſited or went to public aſſemblies, and even in church, as a mark of their gentility. In the illuminations we not unfrequently ſee ladies and gentlemen ſeated in converſation, bearing their hawks on their hands. There was generally a *perche* in the chamber expreſſly ſet aſide for the favourite bird, on which he was placed at night, or by day when the other occupations of its poſſeſſor rendered it inconvenient to carry it on the hand. Such a *perche*, with the hawk upon it, is repreſented in our cut No. 201, taken from a manuſcript of the romance of "Meliadus," of the fourteenth century (MS. Addit. in the Britiſh Muſeum, No. 12,224).

No. 201. *A Hawk on its Perch.*

Hawking was in ſome reſpects a complicated ſcience; numerous treatiſes were written to explain and elucidate it, and it was ſubmitted to ſtrict laws. Much knowledge and ſkill were ſhown in chooſing the hawks, and in breeding and training them, and the value of a well-choſen and well-trained bird was conſiderable. When carried about by its maſter or

miſtreſs, the hawk was held to the hand by a ſtrap of leather or ſilk, called a *jeſſe*, which was fitted to the legs of the bird, and paſſed between the fingers of the hand. Small bells were alſo attached to their legs, one on each. The accompanying cut (No. 202), from a manuſcript in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (No. 6956), repreſents the falconer or keeper of the hawks holding in one hand what appears to be the jeſſe; he has a bird in his right hand, while another is perched on a ſhort poſt, which is often alluded to in the directions for breeding hawks. The falconer wears hawks' gloves, which were made expreſſly to protect the hands againſt the bird's talons.

No. 202. *Hawks and their Keeper.*

Hawking was a favourite recreation with the ladies, and in the illuminated manuſcripts they often figure in ſcenes of this kind. Sometimes they are on foot, as in the group repreſented in our cut No. 203, taken from a manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS.

No. 203. *Ladies Hawking.*

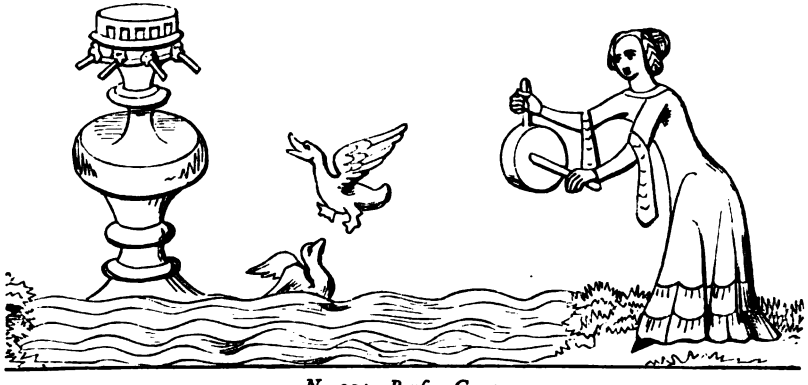
Reg. 2 B. vii.). One lady has let go her hawk, which is in the act of ſtriking a heron; the other retains her hawk on her hand. The latter,

as

as will be ſeen, is hooded. Each of the ladies who poſſeſs hawks has one glove only—the hawk's glove; the other hand is without gloves. They took with them, as ſhown here, dogs in couples to ſtart the game. The dogs uſed for this purpoſe were ſpaniels, and the old treatiſe on domeſtic affairs entitled "Le Ménagier de Paris," gives particular directions for chooſing them. In the illuminations, hawking parties are more frequently repreſented on horſeback than on foot; and often there is a mixture of riders and pedeſtrians. The treatiſe juſt referred to directs that the horſe for hawking ſhould be a low one, eaſy to mount and diſmount, and very quiet, that he may go ſlowly, and ſhow no reſtiveneſs. Hawking appears to have commenced at the beginning of Auguſt; and until the middle of that month it was confined almoſt entirely to partridges. Quails, we are told, came in in the middle of Auguſt, and from that time forward everything ſeems to have been conſidered game that came to hand, for when other birds fail, the ladies are told that they may hunt fieldfares, and even jays and magpies. September and October were the buſieſt hawking months.

Hawking was, indeed, a favourite diverſion with the ladies, and they not only accompanied the gentlemen to this ſport, but frequently engaged in it alone. The hawking of the ladies, however, appears to have been eſpecially that of herons and water-fowl; and this was called going to the river (*aller en rivière*), and was very commonly purſued on foot. It may be mentioned that the fondneſs of the ladies for the diverſion of hawking is alluded to in the twelfth century by John of Saliſbury. The hawking on the river, indeed, ſeems to have been that particular branch of the ſport which gave moſt pleaſure to all claſſes, and it is that which is eſpecially repreſented in the drawings in the Anglo-Saxon manuſcripts. Dogs were commonly uſed in hawking to rouſe the game in the ſame manner as at the preſent day, but in hawking on the river, where dogs were of courſe leſs effective, other means were adopted. In a manuſcript already quoted in the preſent chapter (MS. Reg. 2 B. vii.), of the beginning of the fourteenth century, a group of ladies hawking on the banks of a river are accompanied by a man, perhaps the falconer, who makes a noiſe to rouſe the water-fowl. Our cut No. 204 is taken from

a very intereſting manuſcript of the fourteenth century, made for the monaſtery of St. Bartholomew, in Smithfield, and now preſerved in the library of the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Reg. 10 E. iv.); it is part of a ſcene



No. 204. *Rouſing Game.*

in which ladies are hawking on a river, and a female is rouſing the water-fowl with a tabor. The fountain is one of thoſe conventional objects by which the mediæval artiſt indicated a ſpring, or running ſtream. This

No. 205. *Following the Hawk.*

ſeems to have been a very common method of rouſing the game; and it is repreſented in one of the carved ſeats, or miſereres (as they have been termed technically), in Glouceſter cathedral, which is copied in our cut No. 205.

No. 205. This ſcene is rather curiouſly illuſtrated by an anecdote told by an old chronicler, Ralph de Diceto, of a man who went to the river to hunt teal with his hawk, and rouſed them with "what is called by the river-hawkers a tabor."* The tending of the hawks uſed in theſe diverſions was no ſlight occupation in the mediæval houſehold, and was the ſubject of no little ſtudy; they were cheriſhed with the utmoſt care, and carried about familiarly on the wriſt in all places and under all ſorts of circumſtances. It was a common practice, indeed, to go to church with the hawk on the wriſt. One of the early French poets, Gaces de la Buigne, who wrote a metrical treatiſe on hunting in the middle of the fourteenth century, adviſes his readers to carry their hawks with them wherever there were aſſemblies of people, whether in churches or elſewhere—

Là où les gens ſont amaſſés,
Soit en l'égliſe, ou autre part.

This is explained more fully by the author of the "Ménagier de Paris" (vol. ii. p. 296), who wrote eſpecially for the inſtruction of the female members of his family. "At this point of falconry," he ſays, "it is adviſable more than ever to hold the hawk on the wriſt, and to carry it to the pleadings (courts of juſtice), and among people to the churches, and in other aſſemblies, and in the ſtreets, and to hold it day and night as continually as poſſible, and ſometimes to perch it in the ſtreets, that it may ſee people, horſes, carts, dogs, and become acquainted with all things. . . . . And ſometimes, in the houſe, let it be perched on the dogs, that the dogs may ſee it, and it them." It was thus that the practice of carrying a hawk on the wriſt became a diſtinction of people of gentle blood. The annexed engraving (No. 206), taken from the

* Quidam juvenis de domo domini Lundoniensis episcopi, spiritum habens in avibus cœli ludere, nisum suum docuit cercellas affectare propensius. Itaque juxta sonitum illius instrumenti quod a ripatoribus vocatur *tabur*, subito cercella quædam alarum remigio pernicitur evolavit. Nisus autem illusus lupum quendam nantem in locis sub undis crispantibus intercepit, invasit, et cepit, et super spatium sicut visum est xl. pedum se cum nova præda recepit.—Rad. de Diceto, ap. Decem Striptores, col. 666.

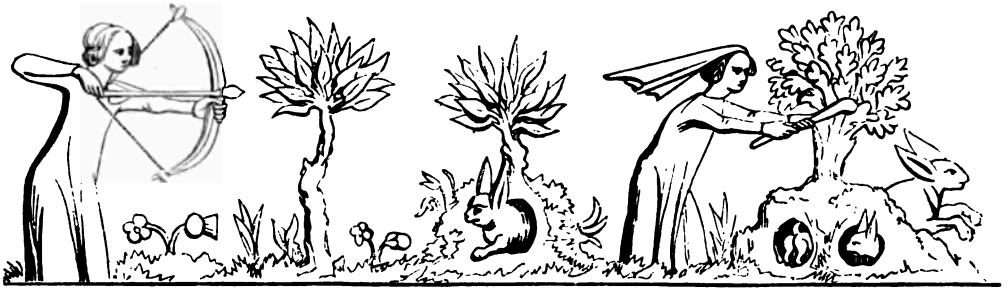
ſame

ſame manuſcript laſt quoted (MS. Reg. 10 E. iv.), repreſents a lady tending her hawks, which are ſeated on their "perche."

The author of the "Ménagier de Paris," a little farther on than the place laſt quoted (p. 311), goes on to ſay, "At the end of the month of September, and after, when hawking of quails and partridges is over, and even in winter, you may hawk at magpies, at jackdaws, at teal, which are in river, or others, . . . at blackbirds, thruſhes, jays, and woodcocks; and for this purpoſe you may carry a bow and a bolt, in order that, when the blackbird takes ſhelter in a buſh, and dare not quit it for the hawk which hovers over and watches it, the lady or damſel who knows how to ſhoot may kill it with the bolt."

No. 206. *A Lady and her Hawks.*

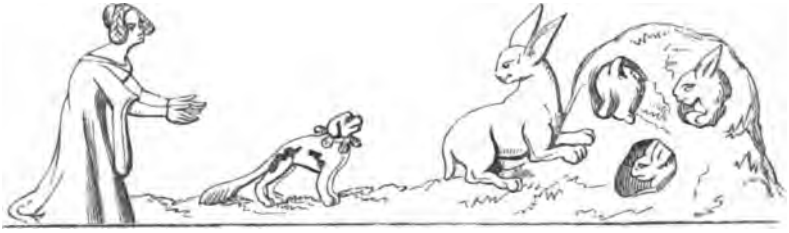
The manuſcript which has furniſhed us with the preceding illuſtrations gives us the accompanying ſketch (No. 207) of a lady ſhooting with her bolt, or *boujon* (as it was termed in



No. 207. *Ladies Shooting Rabbits.*

French),—an arrow with a large head, for ſtriking birds; but in this inſtance ſhe is aiming not at birds, but at rabbits. Archery was alſo a favourite recreation with the ladies in the middle ages, and it no doubt is in

in itſelf an extremely good exerciſe, in a gymnaſtic point of view. The fair ſhooters ſeem to have employed bolts more frequently than the ſharp-headed arrows; but there is no want of examples in the illuminated manuſcripts in which females are repreſented as uſing the ſharp-headed arrow, and ſometimes they are ſeen ſhooting at deer. This cuſtom prevailed during a long period, and is alluded to not unfrequently at ſo late a date as the ſixteenth century. We learn from Leland's "Collectanea" (vol. iv. p. 278), that when the princeſs Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., was on her way to Scotland, a hunting-party was got up for her in the park at Alnwick, and that ſhe killed a buck with an arrow. Similar feats were at times performed by queen Elizabeth; but ſhe ſeems to have preferred the croſſ-bow to the long-bow. The ſcene repreſented in our cut No. 208 is from the ſame manuſcript; the relative proportions



No. 208. *The Lady at the Rabbit-Warren.*

of the dog and the rabbit ſeem to imply a ſatirical aim. Our next cut (No. 209), taken from MS. Reg. 2 B. vii., repreſents ladies hunting the ſtag. One, on horſeback, is winding the horn and ſtarting the game, in which the other plants her arrow moſt ſkilfully and ſcientifically. The dog uſed on this occaſion is intended to be a greyhound.

It muſt be remarked that, in all the illuminations of the period we are deſcribing, which repreſent ladies engaged in hunting or hawking, when on horſeback they are invariably and unmiſtakeably repreſented riding aſtride. This is evidently the caſe in this group (No. 209). It has been already ſhown, in former chapters, that from a very early period it was a uſual cuſtom with the ladies to ride ſideways, or with ſide-ſaddles. Moſt of the mediæval artiſts were ſo entirely ignorant of perſpective, and they

they were ſo much tied to conventional modes of repreſenting things, that when, no doubt, they intended to repreſent ladies riding ſideways, the latter ſeem often as if they were riding aſtride. But in many inſtances, and eſpecially in the ſcenes of hunting and hawking, there can be no doubt that they were riding in the latter faſhion; and it is probable that they were taught to ride both ways, the ſide-ſaddle being conſidered the

No. 209. *Ladies Hunting the Stag.*

moſt courtly, while it was conſidered ſafer to ſit aſtride in the chaſe. A paſſage has been often quoted from Gower's "Confeſſio Amantis," in which a troop of ladies is deſcribed, all mounted on fair white ambling horſes, with ſplendid ſaddles, and it is added that "everichone (*every one*) ride on ſide," which probably means that this was the moſt faſhionable ſtyle of riding. But, as ſhown in a former chapter (p. 72), it has been rather haſtily aſſumed that this is a proof that it was altogether a new faſhion. Our next cut (No. 210), taken from a manuſcript in the French National Library (No. 7178), of the fourteenth century, repreſents two ladies riding in the modern faſhion, except that the left leg appears to be raiſed very awkwardly; but this appearance we muſt perhaps aſcribe only to the bad drawing. It muſt be obſerved alſo that theſe ladies are ſeated on the wrong ſide of the horſe, which is probably an error of the draughtſman. Perhaps there was a different arrangement of the dreſs for the two modes of riding, although there was ſo little of what we now call delicacy in the mediæval manners, that this would be by no means neceſſary.

neceſſary. Chaucer deſcribes the Wife of Bath as wearing ſpurs, and as enveloped in a "foot-mantle:"—

Uppon an amblere eſely ſche ſat,
Wymplid ful wel, and on hire heed an hat
As brood as is a bocler, or a targe;
A foot-mantel aboute hire hupes (hips) *large,*
And on hire feet a paire of ſpores ſcharpe.—Cant. Tales, l. 471.

Travelling on horſeback was now more common than at an earlier period, and this was not unfrequently a ſubject of popular complaint. In

No. 210. *Ladies Riding.*

fact, men who rode on horſeback conſidered themſelves much above the pedeſtrians; they often went in companies, and were generally accompanied with grooms, and other riotous followers, who committed all ſorts of depredations and violence on the peaſantry in their way. A ſatirical ſong of the latter end of the reign of Edward I., repreſents our Saviour as diſcouraging the practice of riding. "While God was on earth," ſays the writer, "and wandered wide, what was the reaſon he would not ride? Becauſe he would not have a groom to go by his ſide, nor the grudging (or diſcontent) of any gadling to jaw or to chide:"—

Whil God was on erthe
And wondrede wyde,
Whet wes the reſoun
Why he nolde ryde?

For he nolde no groom
To go by hys ſyde,
Ne grucchyng of no gedelyng
To chaule ne to chyde.

"Liſten to me, horſemen," continues this ſatiriſt, "and I will tell you news—that ye ſhall hang, and be lodged in hell:"—

No. 211. *An Abbot travelling.*

Herkneth hideward, horſmen,
A tidyng ich ou telle,
That ye ſhulen hongen,
Ant herbarewen in helle!

The clergy were great riders, and abbots and monks are not unfrequently figured on horſeback. Our cut No. 211 (from MS. Cotton, Nero, D. vii.) repreſents an abbot riding, with a hat over his hood; he is giving his benediction in return to the ſalute of ſome paſſing traveller.

The knight ſtill carried his ſpear with him in travelling, as the footman carried his ſtaff. In our cut No. 212, from a manuſcript of the fourteenth century in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (No. 6963), the rider, though not armed, carries his ſpear with him. The ſaddle in this inſtance is ſingularly and rather rudely formed. It was a great point of vanity in the middle ages in England to hang the capariſons of the horſe with ſmall bells, which made a jingling noiſe. In the romance of "Richard Cœur de Lion" (Weber ii. 60), a meſſenger coming to king Richard has no leſs than five hundred ſuch bells ſuſpended to his horſe—

No. 212. *A Knight and his Steed.*

His trappys wer off tuely ſylke,
With five hundred belles rygande.

And

And again, in the ſame romance (vol. ii. p. 223), we are told, in ſpeaking of the ſultan of "Damas," that his horſe was well furniſhed in this reſpect—

Hys crouper heeng al fulle off belles,
And hys peytrel, and hys arſoun;
Three myle myghte men here the ſoun.

The bridle, however, was the part of the harneſs uſually loaded with bells, and, according to Chaucer, it was a vanity eſpecially affected by the monks; for the poet tells us of his monk, that—

Whan he rood, men might his bridel heere
Gyngle in a whiſtlyng wynd ſo cleere,
And eek as lowde as doth the chapel belle.—Cant. Tales, l. 169.

The rider is ſeldom furniſhed with a whip, becauſe he urged his ſteed forward with his ſpurs; but female riders and perſons of lower degree have often whips, which generally conſiſt of ſeveral laſhes, each having uſually a knob at the end. Such a whip is ſeen in our cut No. 213, taken from a manuſcript of the thirteenth century in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Arundel. No. 91), which repreſents a countryman driving a horſe of burthen; and he not only uſes the whip, but he tries further to urge him on by twiſting his tail. A whip with one laſh—rather an unuſual example—is in the hand of the woman driving the cart in our cut No. 214, which is taken from a manuſcript of the romance of "Meliadus," in the French National Library (No. 6961), belonging to the fourteenth century. The lady here is alſo evidently riding aſtride. The cart in which ſhe is carrying home the wounded knight is of a ſimple and rude conſtruction. As yet, indeed, carriages for travelling were very little in uſe; and to judge by the illuminations, they were only employed for kings and very powerful nobles in ceremonial proceſſions.

No. 213. *A Horſewhip.*

The

The horſe was, after a man's own limbs, his primary agent of locomotion. Perhaps no animal is ſo intimately mixed up with the hiſtory of mankind as the horſe—certainly none more ſo. Our Anglo-Saxon forefathers travelled much on foot, and, as far as we know, the great importance in which the horſe was held in the middle ages in this part of the

No. 214. *Lady and Cart.*

world, began with feudaliſm, and the beſt and moſt celebrated breed of horſes in Europe, from the earlieſt ages of chivalry, was brought from the Eaſt. The heroes of early romance and poetry are generally mounted on *Arab* ſteeds, and theſe have often the additional merit of having been won by conqueſt from the Saracens. In the thirteenth century they were obtained from Turkey and Greece; and at a later period from Barbary. France, alſo, had its native breed, which enjoyed a high reputation for many valuable qualities, and eſpecially for its fierceneſs in war; Gaſcony, and, on the other ſide of the Spaniſh frontier, Caſtile and Aquitaine, were much celebrated for their horſes. The Gaſcons prided themſelves much on their horſes, and they diſplayed this pride ſometimes in a very ſingular manner. In 1172, Raymond de Venous, count of Toulouſe, held a grand *cour plénière*, and, as a diſplay of oſtentation, cauſed thirty of his horſes to be burnt in preſence of the aſſembly. It was a fine example of the barbarity of feudaliſm. At the provincial ſynod of Auch, held in 1303, it was ordered that archdeacons, when they made their dioceſan circuits, ſhould not go with more than five horſes, which ſhows that the Gaſcon clergy were in the habit of making a great diſplay

diſplay of cavalry. It appears that at this early period the beſt horſes were imported into England from Bordeaux. It may be mentioned, in paſſing, that the male horſe only was ridden by knights or people of any diſtinction, and that to ride a mare was always looked upon as a degradation. This ſeems to have been an old Teutonic prejudice, perhaps a religious ſuperſtition.

The kinds of horſes moſt commonly mentioned in the feudal ages are named in French (which was the language of feudaliſm), the *palefroi*, or palfrey, the *dextrier*, the *roncin*, and the *ſommier*. The *dextrier*, or *deſtrier*, was the ordinary war-horſe; the *roncin* belonged eſpecially to the ſervants and attendants; and the *ſommier* carried the luggage. Ladies eſpecially rode the palfrey. The Orkney iſlands appear to have been celebrated for their *dextriers*. The Iſle of Man ſeems alſo to have produced a celebrated breed of horſes. Brittany was celebrated for its palfreys. The *haquenée*, or hackney, of the middle ages, appears to have been eſpecially reſerved for females. England ſeems not to have been celebrated for its horſes in the middle ages, and the horſes of value poſſeſſed by the Engliſh kings and great nobles were, in almoſt all caſes, imported from the Continent. The ordinary prices of horſes in England in the reign of Edward I., was from one to ten pounds, but choice animals were valued much higher. When St. Louis returned to France from his captivity, the abbot of Cluny preſented to the king and the queen each a horſe, the value of which Joinville eſtimates at five hundred livres, equivalent to about four hundred pounds of our preſent Engliſh money. Theſe muſt have been horſes which poſſeſſed ſome very extraordinary qualities, as the price is quite out of proportion to that of other horſes at the ſame period. In the charters publiſhed by M. Guérard, horſes are valued at forty ſols, and at three pounds at various periods during the eleventh century. In 1202, two *roncins* are valued at thirty ſols each, another at forty, two at fifty each, and two at ſixty; the *roncin* of an arbaleſter at ſixty ſols; a *ſommier*, or baggage-horſe, at forty ſols; and three horſes, of which the kind is not ſpecified, at ſix pounds each. Theſe appear to have been the ordinary prices at that period; for, though prices of horſes are mentioned as high as thirty-four, thirty-five, and forty pounds,

pounds, theſe were only poſſeſſed or given as preſents by kings. The value of horſes went on riſing through the thirteenth century, until Philippe le Hardi found it neceſſary to fix it by an *ordonnance*, which limited the price which any man, whether lay or clergy, however rich, might give for a palfrey, to ſixty pounds *tournois*, and that to be given by a ſquire for a *roncin* to twenty pounds. The prices of horſes appear not to have varied much from this during the fourteenth century. In the middle of the century following the prices roſe much higher.

Of the colours of horſes, in the middle ages, white ſeems to have been prized moſt highly, and after that dapple-gray and bay or cheſtnut. The ſame colours were in favour among the Arabs. One of the poets of the thirteenth century, Jean Bodel, deſcribes a choice Gaſcon horſe as follows:—"His hair," he ſays, "was more ſhining than the plumage of a peacock; his head was lean, his eye gray like a falcon, his breaſt large and ſquare, his crupper broad, his thigh round, and his rump tight. They who ſaw it ſaid that they had never ſeen a handſomer animal." The food given to horſes in the middle ages ſeems to have been much the ſame as at the preſent day. In 1435 the queen of Navarre gave carrots to her horſes. Although the mediæval knight reſembled the Arab in his love for his horſe, yet the latter was often treated hardly and even cruelly, and the practice of horſemanſhip was painful to the rider and to the horſe. To be a ſkilful rider was a firſt-rate accompliſhment. One of the feats of horſemanſhip practiſed ordinarily was to jump into the ſaddle, in full armour:—

No foot Fitzjames in ſtirrup ſtaid,
No graſp upon the ſaddle laid;
But wreath'd his left hand in the mane,
And lightly bounded from the plain.

Though horſe-races are mentioned in two of the earlieſt of the French metrical romances, thoſe of "Renaud de Montauban," and of "Aiol," they ſeem never to have been practiſed in France until very recently, when they were introduced in imitation of the Engliſh faſhion. Poſt-horſes were firſt introduced in France during the reign of Henry II., that is, in the middle of the ſixteenth century.

Great

Great importance was placed in the breeding of horſes in the middle ages. Charlemagne, in the regulations for the adminiſtration of his private domains, gives particular directions for the care of his brood-mares and ſtallions. Normandy appears to have been famous for its ſtuds of horſes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and documents ſhow that the monks took good care rigorouſly to exact the tithes of their produce to ſtock the monaſtic ſtables. Traces of the exiſtence of ſimilar ſtuds are found alſo in other parts of France. At this time a horſe was conſidered the handſomeſt preſent that could be made by a king or a great lord, and horſes were often given as bribes. Thus, in 1227, the monks of the abbey of Troarn obtained from Guillaume de Tilli the ratification of a grant made to them by his father in conſideration of a gift to him of a mark of ſilver and a palfrey; and the monks of St. Evroul, in 1165, purchaſed a favour of the Engliſh earl of Glouceſter by preſenting to him two palfreys eſtimated to be worth twenty pounds of money of Anjou. Kings frequently received horſes as preſents from their ſubjects. The widow of Herbert du Meſnil gave king John of England a palfrey to obtain the wardſhip of her children; and one Geoffrey Fitz-Richard gave the ſame monarch a palfrey for a conceſſion in the foreſt of Beaulieu. In 1172, Raimond, count of St. Gilles, having become the vaſſal of the king of England, engaged to pay him an annual tribute of a hundred marks of ſilver, or ten *dextriers*, worth at leaſt ten marks each. The Engliſh ſtuds appear already in the thirteenth century to have become remarkable for their excellence.

Travelling, in the middle ages, was aſſiſted by few, if any, conveniences, and was dangerous as well as difficult. The inſecurity of the roads made it neceſſary for travellers to aſſociate together for protection, as well as for company, for their journeys were ſlow and dull; and as they were often obliged to halt for the night where there was little or no accommodation, they had to carry a good deal of luggage. An inn was often the place of rendezvous for travellers ſtarting upon the ſame journey. It is thus that Chaucer repreſents himſelf as having taken up his quarters at the Tabard, in Southwark, preparatory to undertaking the journey to Canterbury; and at night there arrived a company of travellers bent to the

the ſame deſtination, who had gathered together as they came along the road:—

At night was come into that hoſtelrie
Wel nyne and twenty in a companye,
Of ſondry folk, by aventure ifalle
In felaſchipe.—Cant. Tales, l. 23.

Chaucer obtains the conſent of the reſt to his joining their fellowſhip, which, as he deſcribes it, conſiſted of perſons moſt diſſimilar in claſs and character. The hoſt of the Tabard joins the party alſo, and it is agreed that, to enliven the journey, each, in his turn, ſhall tell a ſtory on the way. They then ſup at a common table, drink wine, and go to bed; and at daybreak they ſtart on their journey. They travelled evidently at a ſlow pace; and at Boughton-under-Blee—a village a few miles from Canterbury—a canon and his yeoman, after ſome hard riding, overtake them, and obtain permiſſion to join the company. It would ſeem that the company had paſſed a night ſomewhere on the road, probably at Rocheſter,—and we ſhould, perhaps, have had an account of their reception and departure, had the collection of the "Canterbury Tales" been completed by their author,—and that the canon ſent his yeoman to watch for any company of travellers who ſhould halt at the hoſtelry, that he might join them, but he had been too late to ſtart with them, and had, therefore, ridden hard to overtake them:—

His yeman eek was ful of curteſye,
And ſeid, "Sires, now in the morwe tyde
Out of your oſtelry I ſaugh you ryde,
And warned heer my lord and ſoverayn,
Which that to ryden with yow is ful fayn,
For his diſport; he loveth daliaunce."—Cant. Tales, l. 12,515.

A little further on, on the road, the Pardoner is called upon to tell his tale. He replies—

"It ſchal be doon," quod he, "and that anoon.
But firſt," quod he, "here, at this ale-ſtake,
I will both drynke and byten on a cake."—Ibid., l. 13,735.

The road-ſide ale-houſe, where drink was ſold to travellers, and to the country-people of the neighbourhood, was ſcattered over the more populous

populous and frequented parts of the country from an early period, and is not unfrequently alluded to in popular writers. It was indicated by a ſtake projecting from the houſe, on which ſome object was hung for a

No. 215. *A Pilgrim at the Ale-Stake.*

ſign, and is ſometimes repreſented in the illuminations of manuſcripts. Our cut No. 215, taken from a manuſcript of the fourteenth century, in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Reg. 10 E. iv.), repreſents one of thoſe ale-houſes, at which a pilgrim is halting to take refreſhment. The keeper of the ale-houſe, in this inſtance, is a woman, the ale-wife, and the ſtake appears to be a beſom. In another (No. 216), taken from a manuſcript copy of the "Moralization of Cheſs," by Jacques de Ceſſoles, of the earlier part of the fifteenth century (MS. Reg. 19 C. xi.), a round ſign is ſuſpended on the ſtake, with a figure in the middle, which may poſſibly be intended to repreſent a buſh. A garland was not unfrequently hung upon the ſtake; on this Chaucer, deſcribing his "ſompnour," ſays:—

No. 216. *The Road-ſide Inn.*

A garland had he ſet upon his heed,
As gret as it were for an ale-ſtake.—Cant. Tales, l. 688.

A buſh was ſtill more common, and gave riſe to the proverb that "good wine

wine needs no buſh," that is, it will be eaſily found out without any ſign to direct people to it. A buſh ſuſpended to the ſign of a tavern will be ſeen in our cut (No. 224) to the preſent chapter.

Lydgate compoſed his poem of the "Storie of Thebes," as a continuation of Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales," and in the prologue he deſcribes himſelf as arriving in Canterbury, while the pilgrims were

No. 217. *The Canterbury Pilgrims.*

there, and accidentally taking up his lodging at the ſame inn. He thus ſeeks and obtains permiſſion to be one of the fellowſhip, and returns from Canterbury in their company. Our cut No. 217, taken from a fine manuſcript of Lydgate's poem (MS. Reg. 18 D. ii.), repreſents the pilgrims leaving Canterbury, and is not only a good illuſtration of the practice of travelling in companies, but it furniſhes us with a characteriſtic picture of a mediæval town.

This readineſs of travellers to join company with each other was not confined

confined to any claſs of ſociety, but was general among them all, and not unfrequently led to the formation of friendſhips and alliances between thoſe who had previouſly been ſtrangers to one another. In the intereſting romance of "Blonde of Oxford," compoſed in the thirteenth century, when Jean of Dammartin came to ſeek his fortune in England, and was riding from Dover to London, attended by a faithful ſervant, he overtook the earl of Oxford, who was on his way to London, with a numerous retinue of armed followers. Jean, having learnt from the earl's followers who he was, introduced himſelf to him, and was finally taken into his ſervice. Subſequently, in the ſame romance, Jean of Dammartin, returning to England, takes up his lodging in a handſome hotel in London, and while his man Robin puts the horſes in the ſtable, he walks out into the ſtreet, and ſees a large company who had juſt arrived, conſiſting of ſquires, ſervants, knights, clerks, prieſts, ſerving-lads (*garçons*), and men who attended the baggage horſes (*ſommiers*). Jean aſked one of the eſquires who they all were, what was their buſineſs, and where they were going; and was informed that it was the earl of Glouceſter, who had come to London about ſome buſineſs, and was going on the morrow to Oxford, to be married to the lady Blonde, the object of Jean's affections. Next morning the earl began his journey at daybreak, and Jean and his ſervant, who were mounted ready, joined the company. There was ſo little unuſual in this, that the intruders ſeem, for a while, not to have been noticed, until, at length, the earl obſerved Jean, and began to interrogate him: "Friend," ſaid he, "you are welcome; what is your name?"—

Amis, bien ſuſtes venè,
Coment fu voſtre non pelè?—Romance of Blonde, l. 2,627.

Jean gave him an aſſumed name, ſaid he was a merchant, and offered to ſell the earl his horſe, but they could not agree upon the terms. They continued converſing together during the reſt of the journey. As they proceeded they encountered a ſhower of rain, which wetted the earl, who was faſhionably and thinly clothed. Jean ſmiled at the impatience with which he ſeemed to bear this miſhap, and when aſked to tell the cauſe of his mirth, ſaid, "If I were a rich man, like you, I ſhould always carry

a houſe with me, ſo that I could go into it when the rain came, and not get my clothes dirtied and wet." The earl and his followers ſet Jean down for a fool, and looked forward to be made merry by him. Soon afterwards they came to the banks of a river, into which the earl rode, without firſt aſcertaining if it were fordable, and he was carried away by the ſtream, and only ſaved from drowning by a fiſherman in a boat. The reſt of the company found a ford, where they paſſed the river without danger. The earl's clothes had now been completely ſoaked in the water, and, as his baggage-horſes were too far in the rear, he made one of his knights ſtrip, and give him his dry clothes, and left him to make the beſt of his wet ones. "If I were as rich, and had ſo many men, as you," ſaid Jean, laughing again, "I would not be expoſed to misfortunes of this kind, for I would carry a bridge with me." The earl and his retinue were merry again, at what they ſuppoſed to be the folly of their travelling companion. They were now near Oxford, and Jean took his leave of the earl of Glouceſter. We learn, in the courſe of the ſtory, that all that Jean meant by the houſe, was that the earl ought to have had at hand a good cloak and cape to cover his fine clothes in caſe of rain; and that, by the bridge, he intended to intimate that he ought to have ſent ſome of his men to aſcertain the depth of the river before he went into it!

Theſe illuſtrations of the manner and inconveniences of travelling apply more eſpecially to thoſe who could travel on horſeback; but the difficulties were ſtill greater for the numerous claſs of people who were obliged to travel on foot, and who could rarely make ſure of reaching, at the end of each day's journey, a place where they could obtain a lodging. They, moreover, had alſo to take with them a certain quantity of baggage. Foot-travellers ſeem to have had ſometimes a mule or a donkey, to carry luggage, or for the weak women and children. Every one will remember the mediæval fable of the old man and his aſs, in which a father and his ſon have the one aſs between them. In mediæval illuminations repreſenting the flight into Egypt, Joſeph is often repreſented as walking, while the Virgin and Child ride upon an aſs which he is leading. The party of foot-travellers in our cut No. 218, taken from a manuſcript

manuſcript of the beginning of the fourteenth century (MS. Reg. 2 B. vii.), forms part of a group repreſenting the relatives of Thomas Beckett driven into exile by king Henry II.; they are making their way to the ſea-ſhore on foot, perhaps to ſhow that they were not of very high condition in life.

In Chaucer, it is a matter of ſurpriſe that the "chanoun" had ſo little luggage that he carried only a male, or portmanteau, on his horſe's crupper, and even that was doubled up (*tweyfold*) on account of its emptineſs:—

A male tweyfold on his croper lay,
It ſeemed that he caried litel array,
Al light for ſomer rood this worthy man.
—Cant. Tales, l. 12,494.

No. 218. *Travellers on Foot.*

On the contrary, in the romance of "Berte," when the heroine is left to wander in the ſolitary foreſt, the writer laments that ſhe had "neither pack-horſe laden with coffers, nor clothes folded up in males," which were the ordinary accompaniments of travellers of any conſequence:—

N'i ot ſommier à coffres ne dras trouſſés en male.—Roman de Berte, p. 42.

A traveller, indeed, had many things to carry with him. He took proviſions with him, or was obliged, at times, to reckon on what he could kill, or obtain undreſſed, and hence he was obliged to carry cooking apparatus with him. He carried flint and ſteel to ſtrike a light, and be able to make a fire, as he might have to bivouac in a ſolitary place, or in the midſt of a foreſt. In the romance of "Garin le Loherain," when the count Begues of Belin finds himſelf benighted in the foreſt, he prepares for paſſing the night comfortably, and, as a matter of courſe, draws out his flint (*fuſil*), and lights a fire:—

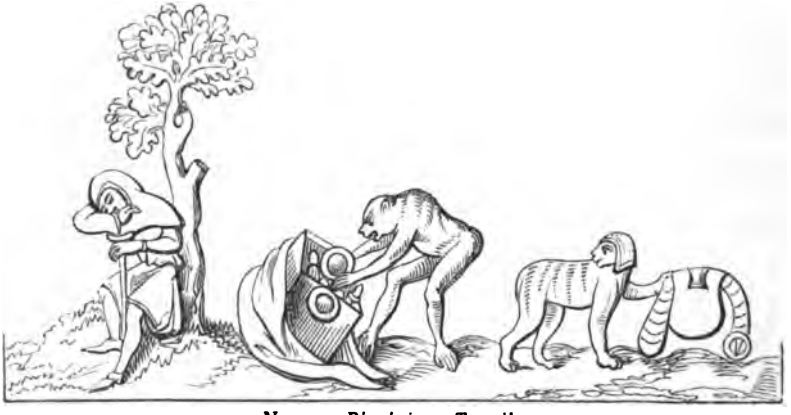
Et li quens eſt deſous l'arbre ramé;
Prent ſon fuſil, ſ'a le fu alumé,
Grant et plenier, merveilleus embraſé.—Garin le Loherain, ii., p. 231.

The

The traveller alſo often carried materials for laying a bed, if benighted on the road; and he had, above all, to take ſufficient money with him in ſpecie. He ſometimes alſo carried a portable tent with him, or materials for making one. In the Engliſh romance of "Ipomydon" (Weber, ii. 343), the maiden meſſenger of the heireſs of Calabria carries her tent with her, and uſually lodges at night under it—

As they rode by the way,
The mayde to the dwarfe gan ſaye,
"Undo my tente, and ſette it faſte,
For here a whyle I wille me ryſte."
Mete and drynke bothe they had,
That was fro home with them lad.

It may be remarked that in this ſtory the firſt thought of every gallant knight who paſſes is to treat the lady with violence. All theſe incum-



No. 219. Plundering a Traveller.

brances, combined with the badneſs of the roads, rendered travelling ſlow —of which we might quote abundant examples. At the end of the twelfth century, it took Giraldus Cambrenſis four days to travel from Powiſland to Haughmond Abbey, near Shrewſbury. The roads, too, were infeſted with robbers and banditti, and travellers were only ſafe in their numbers, and in being ſufficiently well armed to repel attacks. In the accompanying cut (No. 219), from a manuſcript of the fourteenth century

century (MS. Reg. 10 E. iv.), a traveller is taking his repoſe under a tree,—it is, perhaps, intended to be underſtood that he is paſſing the night in a wood,—while he is plundered by robbers, who are here jokingly repreſented in the forms of monkeys. While one is emptying his "male" or box, the other is carrying off his girdle, with the large pouch attached to it, in which, no doubt, the traveller carried his money, and perhaps his eatables. The inſecurity of the roads in the middle ages was, indeed, very great, for not only were the foreſts filled with bands of outlaws, who ſtripped all who fell into their hands, but the knights and landed gentry, and even noblemen, took to the highways not unfrequently, and robbed unſcrupulouſly. Moreover, they built their caſtles near difficult paſſes, or by a river where there was a bridge or ford, and where, therefore, they commanded it, and there they levied arbitrary taxes on all who paſſed, and, on the ſlighteſt attempt at reſiſtance, plundered the traveller of his property, and put him to death or threw him into their dungeons. Incidents of this kind are common in the mediæval romances and ſtories. Piers de Bruville, in the hiſtory of Fulke Fitz-Warine, may be mentioned as an example of this claſs of marauders. "At that time," ſays the ſtory, "there was a knight in the country who was called Piers de Bruville. This Piers uſed to collect all the ſons of gentlemen of the country who were wild, and other ribald people, and uſed to go about the country, and ſlew and robbed loyal people, merchants, and others." In the fabliau of the "Chevalier au Barizel," we are told of a great baron who iſſued continually from his ſtrong caſtle to plunder the country around. "He watched ſo cloſely the roads, that he ſlew all the pilgrims, and plundered the merchants; many of them he brought to miſhap. He ſpared neither clergy nor monk, recluſe, hermit, or canon; and the nuns and lay-ſiſters he cauſed to live in open ſhame, when he had them in his power; and he ſpared neither dames nor maids, of whatever rank or claſs, whether poor or rich, or well educated or ſimple, but he put them all to open ſhame" (Barbazan, i. 209).

The roads, in the middle ages, appear alſo to have been infeſted with beggars of all deſcriptions, many of whom were cripples, and perſons mutilated in the moſt revolting manner, the reſult of feudal wantonneſs, and

and of feudal vengeance. Our cut No. 220, alſo furniſhed by a manuſcript of the fourteenth century, repreſents a very deformed cripple, whoſe means of locomotion are rather curious. The beggar and the cripple, too, were often only robbers in diſguiſe, who waited their opportunity to attack ſingle paſſengers, or who watched to give notice to comrades of the approach of richer convoys. The mediæval popular ſtories give abundant inſtances of robbers and others diſguiſing themſelves as beggars and cripples. Blindneſs, alſo, was common among theſe objects of commiſeration in the middle ages; often, as in the caſe of mutilation of other kinds, the reſult of deliberate violence. The ſame manuſcript

No. 220. *A Cripple.*

No. 221. *A Blind Man and Dog.*

I have ſo often quoted (MS. Reg. 10 E. iv.), has furniſhed our cut No. 221, repreſenting a blind man and his dog.

It will be eaſily underſtood, that when travelling was beſet with ſo many inconveniences, private hoſpitality would be looked upon as one of the firſt of virtues, for people were often obliged to have recourſe to it, and

and it was ſeldom refuſed. In the country every man's door was open to the ſtranger who came from a diſtance, unleſs his appearance were ſuſpicious or threatening. In this there was a mutual advantage; for the gueſt generally brought with him news and information which was highly valued at a time when communication between one place and another was ſo ſlow and uncertain. Hence the firſt queſtions put to a ſtranger were, whence he had come, and what news he had brought with him. The old romances and tales furniſh us with an abundance of examples of the wideſpread feeling of hoſpitality that prevailed during the middle ages. Even in the middle and lower claſſes, people were always ready to ſhare their meals with the ſtranger who aſked for a lodging. The denial of ſuch hoſpitality was looked upon as exceptional and diſgraceful, and was only met with from miſers and others who were regarded as almoſt without the pale of ſociety. The early metrical ſtory of "The Hermit," the foundation of Parnell's poem, gives us examples of the different ſorts of hoſpitality with which travellers met. The hermit and his companion began their travels in a wild country, and at the end of their firſt day's journey, they were obliged to take up their lodgings with another hermit, who gave them the beſt welcome he could, and ſhared his proviſions with them. The next evening they came to a city, where everybody ſhut his door againſt them, becauſe they were poor, till at length, weary and wet with rain, they ſat down on the ſtone ſteps of a great manſion; but the hoſt was an uſurer, and refuſed to receive into his houſe men who promiſed him ſo little profit. Yet at length, to eſcape their importunities, he allowed them to enter the yard, and ſleep under a ſtaircaſe, where his maid threw them ſome ſtraw to lie upon, but neither offered them refreſhment, except ſome of the refuſe of the table, nor allowed them to go to a fire to dry their clothes. The next evening they ſought their lodging in a large abbey, where the monks received them with great hoſpitality, and gave them plenty to eat and drink. On the fourth day they came to another town, where they went to the houſe of a rich and honeſt burgher, who alſo received them with all the marks of hoſpitality. Their hoſt waſhed their feet, and gave them plenty to eat and drink, and they were comfortably lodged for the night.

It would not be difficult to illuſtrate all the incidents of this ſtory by anecdotes of mediæval life. The traveller who ſought a lodging, without money to pay for it, even in private houſes, was not always well received. In the fabliau of the "Butcher of Abbeville" (Barbazan, iv. 1), the butcher, returning from the market of Oiſemont, is overtaken by night at the ſmall town of Bailleuil. He determined to ſtop for the night there, and, ſeeing a poor woman at her door, at the entrance of the town, he inquired where he could aſk for a night's lodging, and ſhe recommended him to the prieſt, as the only perſon in the town who had wine in his cellar. The butcher accordingly repaired to the prieſt's houſe, where he found that eccleſiaſtic ſitting on the ſill of his door, and aſked him to give him a lodging for the ſake of charity. The prieſt, who thought that there was nothing to be gained from him, refuſed, telling him he would find plenty of people in the town who could give him a bed. As the butcher was leaving the town, irritated by his inhoſpitable reception, he encountered a flock of ſheep, which he learnt were the property of the prieſt; whereupon, ſelecting the fatteſt of them, he dextrouſly ſtole it away unperceived, and, returning with it into the town, he went to the prieſt's door, found him juſt cloſing his houſe, for it was nightfall, and again aſked him for lodging. The prieſt aſked him who he was, and whence he came. He replied that he had been to the market at Oiſemont, and bought a ſheep; that he was overtaken by night, and ſought a lodging; and that, as it was no great conſideration to him, he intended to kill his ſheep, and ſhare it with his hoſt. The temptation was too great for the greedy prieſt, and he now received the butcher into his houſe, treated him with great reſpect, and had a bed made for him in his hall. Now the prieſt had—as was common with the Catholic prieſthood—a concubine and a maid-ſervant, and they all regaled themſelves on the butcher's ſheep. Before the gueſt left next morning, he contrived to ſell the ſheep's ſkin and wool for certain conſiderations ſeverally to the concubine and to the maid, and, after his departure, their rival claims led to a quarrel, and even to a battle. While the prieſt, on his return from the ſervice of matins, was labouring to appeaſe the combatants, his ſhepherd entered, with the information that his beſt ſheep had been ſtolen from

from his flock, and an examination of the ſkin led to the diſcovery of the trick which had been played upon him—a puniſhment, as we are told, which he well merited by his inhoſpitable conduct. A Latin ſtory of the thirteenth century may be coupled with the foregoing anecdote. There was an abbot who was very miſerly and inhoſpitable, and he took care to give all the offices in the abbey to men of his own character. This was eſpecially the caſe with the monk who had the direction of the *hoſpitium*, or gueſt-houſe. One day came a minſtrel to aſk for a lodging, but he met with an unfriendly reception, was treated only with black bread and water to drink, and was ſhown to a hard bed of ſtraw. Minſtrels were not uſually treated in this inhoſpitable manner, and our gueſt reſolved to be revenged. He left the abbey next morning, and a little way on his journey he met the abbot, who was returning home from a ſhort abſence. "God bleſs you, good abbot!" he ſaid, "for the noble hoſpitality which has been ſhown to me this night by your monks. The maſter of your gueſt-houſe treated me with the choiceſt wines, and placed rich diſhes on the table for me in ſuch numbers, that I would not attempt to count them; and when I came away this morning, he gave me a pair of ſhoes, a girdle, and a knife." The abbot hurried home in a furious rage, ſummoned the offending brother before a chapter, accuſed him of ſquandering away the property of the monaſtery, cauſed him to be flogged and diſmiſſed from his office, and appointed in his place another, in whoſe inhoſpitable temper he could place entire confidence.

Theſe caſes of want of hoſpitality were, however, exceptions to the general rule. A ſtranger was uſually received with great kindneſs, each claſs of ſociety, of courſe, more or leſs by its own claſs, though, under ſuch circumſtances, much leſs diſtinction of claſs was made than we might ſuppoſe. The ariſtocratic claſs, which included what we ſhould now call the gentry, ſought hoſpitality in the neareſt caſtle; for a caſtle, as a matter of pride and oſtentation, was, more or leſs, like an abbey, a place of hoſpitality for everybody. Among the richer and more refined claſſes, great care was taken to ſhow proper courteſy to ſtrangers, according to their rank. In the caſe of a knight, the lord of the houſe and his lady, with their damſels, led him into a private room, took off his armour, and

often

often his clothes, and gave him a change of apparel, after careful ablution. A ſcene of this kind is repreſented in the accompanying cut (No. 222), taken from a manuſcript of the romance of "Lancelot," of the fourteenth century, in the National Library in Paris (No. 6956). The hoſt or his lady ſometimes waſhed the ſtranger's feet themſelves. Thus, in the fabliau quoted above, when the hermit and his companion ſought a lodging at the houſe of a *bourgeois*, they were received without queſtion, and their hoſts waſhed their feet, and then gave them plenty to eat and drink, and a bed:—

Li hoſte orent leur piez lavez,
Bien ſont peu et abreviez;
Juſqu' au jor à eſe ſe jurent.

We might eaſily multiply extracts illuſtrative of this hoſpitable feeling, as it exiſted and was practiſed from the twelfth century to the fifteenth.

No. 222. Receiving a Stranger.

No. 223. Receiving a Gueſt.

Our cut No. 223, taken from a manuſcript of the earlier part of the fourteenth century (MS. Harl. No. 1527), is another repreſentation of the reception of a ſtranger in this hoſpitable manner. In the "Roman de la Violette" (p. 233), when its hero, Gerard, ſought a lodging at a caſtle, he was received with the greateſt hoſpitality; the lord of the caſtle led him into the great hall, and there diſarmed him, furniſhed him with a rich mantle, and cauſed him to be bathed and waſhed. In the ſame romance (p. 237), when Gerard arrives at the little town of Mouzon, he goes to the houſe of a widow to aſk for a night's lodging, and is received with

with the ſame welcome. His horſe is taken into a ſtable, and carefully attended to, while the lady labours to keep him in converſation until ſupper is ready, after which a good bed is made for him, and they all retire to reſt. The comforts, however, which could be offered to the viſitor, conſiſted often chiefly in eating and drinking. People had few ſpare chambers, eſpecially furniſhed ones, and, in the ſimplicity of mediæval manners, the gueſts were obliged to ſleep either in the ſame room as the family, or, more uſually, in the hall, where beds were made for them on the floor or on the benches. "Making a bed" was a phraſe true in its literal ſenſe, and the bed made conſiſted ſtill of a heap of ſtraw, with a ſheet or two thrown over it. The hoſt, indeed, could often furniſh no more than a room of bare walls and floor as a protection from the weather, and the gueſt had to rely as much upon his own reſources for his perſonal comforts, as if he had had to paſs the night in the midſt of a wild wood. Moreover the gueſts, however numerous and though ſtrangers to each other, were commonly obliged to ſleep together indiſcriminately in the ſame room.

The old Anglo-Saxon feeling, that the duration of the chance viſit of a ſtranger ſhould be limited to the third day, ſeems ſtill to have prevailed. A Latin rhyme, printed in the "Reliquiæ Antiquæ" (i. 91), tells us,—

Verum dixit anus, quod piſcis olet triduanus;
Ejus de more ſimili fœtet hoſpes odore.

In towns the hoſpitality of the burghers was not always given gratis, for it was a common cuſtom, even among the richer merchants, to make a profit by receiving gueſts. Theſe letters of lodgings were diſtinguiſhed from the inn-keepers, or *hoſtelers*, by the title of *herbergeors*, or people who gave harbour to ſtrangers, and in the larger towns they were ſubmitted to municipal regulations. The great barons and knights were in the cuſtom of taking up their lodgings with theſe herbergeors, rather than going to the public hoſtels; and thus a ſort of relationſhip was formed between particular nobles or kings and particular burghers, on the ſtrength of which the latter adopted the arms of their habitual lodgers as their ſigns. Theſe herbergeors practiſed great extortions upon their accidental gueſts,

gueſts, and they appear to have adopted various artifices to allure them to their houſes. Theſe extortions are the ſubject of a very curious Latin poem of the thirteenth century, entitled "Peregrinus" (the Traveller), the author of which deſcribes the arts employed to allure the traveller, and the extortions to which he was ſubjected. It appears that perſons were employed to look out for the arrival of ſtrangers, and that they entered into converſation with them, pretended to diſcover that they came from the ſame part of the country, and then, as taking eſpecial intereſt in their fellow-countrymen, recommended them to lodgings. Theſe tricks of the burghers who let their lodgings for hire are alluded to in other mediæval writers. It appears, alſo, that both in theſe lodging-houſes and in the public inns, it was not an unuſual practice to draw people into contracting heavy bills, which they had not the money to pay, and then to ſeize their baggage and even their clothes, to ſeveral times the amount of the debt.

No. 224. A Hoſtelry at night.

Our cut No. 224, taken from an illumination in the unique manuſcript of the Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles (fifteenth century), in the Hunterian Library

Library at Glaſgow, repreſents the exterior and the interior of a public hoſtel or inn. Without, we ſee the ſign, and the buſh ſuſpended to it, and a company of travellers arriving; within, the bed-chambers are repreſented, and they illuſtrate not only the practice of lodging a number of perſons in the ſame bedroom, but alſo that of ſleeping in a ſtate of perfect nudity. Our next cut (No. 225) is a picture of a mediæval tapſter; it is taken from one of the carved ſeats, or miſereres, in the fine pariſh church of Ludlow, in Shropſhire. It will, probably, be remarked that the ſize of the tapſter's jug is rather diſproportionate to that of his barrel; but mediæval artiſts often ſet perſpective and relative proportions at defiance.

No. 225. A Mediæval Tapſter.

The tavern in the middle ages ſeems to have been the uſual ſcene of a large portion of the ordinary life of the lower claſs of ſociety, and even partially of the middle claſs, and its influence was certainly very injurious on the manners and character of the people. Even the women, as we learn from a number of contemporary ſongs and ſtories, ſpent much of their time drinking and goſſiping in taverns, where great latitude was afforded for carrying on low intrigues. The tavern was, in fact, the general rendezvous of thoſe who ſought amuſement, of whatever kind. In the "Milleres Tale," in Chaucer, Abſolon, "that joly was and gay," and who excelled as a muſician, frequented the taverns and "brewhouſes," meaning apparently the leſſer public-houſes where they only ſold ale, to exhibit his ſkill—

> *In al the toun nas brewhous ne taverne*
> *That he ne viſited with his ſolas,*
> *Ther as that any gaylard tapſter was.*—Cant. Tales, l. 3,334.

And Chaucer's friar was well acquainted with all the taverns in the towns he viſited—

> *He knew wel the tavernes in every toun,*
> *And every oſteller or gay tapſtere.*—Ibid., l. 240.

The

The tavern was eſpecially the haunt of gamblers, who were encouraged by the "tapſter," becauſe they brought him his moſt profitable cuſtomers. As I have ſaid before, when his cuſtomers had no money, the taverner took their articles of dreſs for payment, and in doing this he added the profits of the money-lender to thoſe of the taverner. In the fabliau of "Gautier d'Aupais," the young prodigal Gautier, hungry and pennileſs, arrives towards evening at a tavern, where he finds a number of gueſts enjoying themſelves. His horſe is taken to the ſtable, and he joins the gueſts, but when the moment comes for paying, and the taverner demands three ſols, he is induced in his deſperation to try his luck at the dice. Inſtead, however, of retrieving his fortunes, he loſes his horſe and his robe, and is obliged to return to his father's houſe on foot, and in his ſhirt—

Si a perdu ſa robe et ſon corant deſtrier;
En pure ſa chemiſe l'en convint reperier.

The ſtory of Cortois d'Arras, in the fabliau in "Barbazan" (i. 355), is ſomewhat ſimilar. Young Cortois, alſo a prodigal, obtains from his father a large ſum of money as a compenſation for all his claims on the paternal property, and with this throws himſelf upon the world. As he proceeded, he heard the tavern-boy calling out from the door, "Here is good wine of Soiſſons, acceptable to everybody! here credit is given to everybody, and no pledges taken!" with much more in the ſame ſtyle. Cortois determined to ſtop at the tavern. "Hoſt," ſaid he, "how much do you ſell your wine the ſeptier (a meaſure of two gallons)? and when was it tapped?" He was told that it had been freſh tapped that morning, and that the price was ſix deniers. The hoſt then goes on to diſplay his accommodations. "Within are all ſorts of comforts; painted chambers, and ſoft beds, raiſed high with white ſtraw, and made ſoft with feathers; here within is hoſtel for love affairs, and when bed-time comes you will have pillows of violets to hold your head more ſoftly; and, finally, you will have electuaries and roſe-water, to waſh your mouth and your face." Cortois orders a gallon of wine, and immediately afterwards a *belle demoiſelle* makes her appearance, for ſuch were in theſe times reckoned among the attractions of the tavern. It is ſoon arranged between

between the lady and the landlord that ſhe is to be Cortois' chamber-companion, and they all begin drinking together, the taverner perſuading his gueſt that he owes this choice wine to the lady's love. They then go to carouſe in the garden, and they finiſh by plundering him of his money, and he is obliged to leave his clothes in pledge for the payment of his tavern expenſes. The ale-wife was eſpecially looked upon as a model of extortion and deceit, for ſhe cheated unbluſhingly, both in money and

No. 226. The Ale-Wife's End.

meaſure, and ſhe is pointed out in popular literature as an object of hatred and of ſatire. Our cut No. 226, alſo furniſhed by one of the carved miſereres in Ludlow Church, repreſents a ſcene from Doomſday: a demon is bearing away the deceitful ale-wife, who carries nothing with her but her gay head-dreſs and her falſe meaſure; he is going to throw her into "hell-mouth," while another demon is reading her offences as entered in his roll, and a third is playing on the bagpipes, by way of welcome.

CHAPTER XV.

EDUCATION.—LITERARY MEN AND SCRIBES.—PUNISHMENTS; THE STOCKS; THE GALLOWS.

I PUT together in a ſhort chapter two parts of my ſubject which may at the firſt glance ſeem ſomewhat diſcordant, but which, I think, on further conſideration, will be found to be rather cloſely related—they are, education and puniſhment for offences againſt the law. It can hardly be doubted, indeed, that, as education becomes more general and better regulated, if the neceſſity of puniſhment is not entirely taken away, its cruelty is greatly diminiſhed.

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there was certainly a general feeling of the neceſſity of extending and improving education. It was during this period that our great univerſities roſe into exiſtence, and flouriſhed, and theſe ſchools, which provided for the higher development of the mind, had their thouſands of ſtudents, inſtead of the hundreds who frequent them at the preſent day. But the need of ſome proviſion for education was felt moſt in regard to that leſs elevated degree of inſtruction which was required for the more youthful mind,—in fact, it was long before the people of the middle ages could be perſuaded that literary education was of any uſe at all, except for thoſe who were to be made great ſcholars; the clergy itſelf, unfortunately, did not ſee the neceſſity of popular education, and although the ſchools in pariſh churches were long continued, they appear to have been conducted more and more with negligence. It was the mercantile claſs in the towns which made the firſt ſtep in advance, by the eſtabliſhment of thoſe foundations which have continued to the preſent time under the name of grammar ſchools. Theſe ſchools are traced back to the thirteenth century, when the merchant

chant guilds, by whom they were founded, began to aſſume a greater degree of importance, and they were uſually intended for the general benefit of the town, but were combined with an eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment for performing ſervices for the ſouls of the members of the guilds, in conſequence of which, at the Reformation, they became involved in the ſuperſtitious uſes, and were diſſolved and refounded in the reign of Edward VI., ſo that they are now generally known as king Edward's foundations. The great object of theſe ſchools was to give the inſtruction neceſſary for admiſſion into the univerſities; and they were in ſome degree the anſwer to an appeal which came deeply from the maſs of the people,—for there was at this time a great ſpontaneous eagerneſs for learning, both for the ſake of the learning itſelf, and becauſe it was a road to high diſtinction, which was not open to the maſſes in any other direction. It was a very common practice for poor youths to go about the country during vacation time, to beg money to keep them at ſchool during term. In Piers Ploughman, among the objects of legitimate charity, the writer enumerates money given to—

> *Sette ſcolers to ſcole,*
> *Or to ſom othere craftes.*—Piers Ploughman, Vis., l. 4,525.

And in the popular complaints of the burden of taxation, involuntary and voluntary, the alms given to poor ſcholars are often enumerated.

Independent, however, of what may be conſidered more eſpecially as ſcholarſhip, a conſiderable amount of inſtruction began now to be ſpread abroad. Reading and writing were becoming much more general accompliſhments, eſpecially among ladies. Among the amuſements of leiſure hours, indeed, reading began now to occupy a much larger place than had been given to it in former ages. Even ſtill, popular literature—in the ſhape of tales, and ballads and ſongs—was, in a great meaſure, communicated orally. But much had been done during the fourteenth century towards ſpreading a taſte for literature and knowledge; books were multiplied, and were extenſively read; and wants were already ariſing which ſoon led the way to that moſt important of modern diſcoveries, the art of printing. Moſt gentlemen had now a few books, and

men

men of wealth had conſiderable libraries. The wills of this period, ſtill preſerved, often enumerate the books poſſeſſed by the teſtator, and ſhow the high value which was ſet upon them. Many of the illuminations of the fourteenth century preſent us with ingenious, and ſometimes fantaſtic, forms of book-caſes and book-ſtands. In our cut No. 227, from a manuſcript of metrical relations of miracles of the Virgin Mary, now preſerved in the library of the city of Soiſſons in France, we have a monk reading, ſeated before a book-ſtand, the table of which moves up and down on a ſcrew. Upon this table is the inkſtand, and below it apparently the inkbottle; and the table has in itſelf receptacles for books

No. 227. A Monk at his Studies.

and paper or parchment. In the wall of the room are cupboards, alſo for the reception of books, as we ſee by one lying looſe in them. The man is here ſeated on a ſtool; but in our cut No. 228, taken from a manuſcript in the National Library in Paris (No. 6985), he is ſeated in a chair, with a writing-deſk attached to it. The ſcribe holds in his hand a pen, with which he is writing, and a knife to ſcratch the parchment where anything may need eraſion. The table here is alſo of a curious conſtruction, and it is covered with books. Other examples are found, which ſhow

ſhow that conſiderable ingenuity was employed in varying the forms of ſuch library tables.

The next cut (No. 229) is taken from one of the illuminations to a manuſcript of the "Moralization of Cheſs," by Jacques de Ceſſoles (MS.

No. 228. A Mediæval Writer.

Reg. 19 C. xi.), and is intended as a ſort of figurative repreſentation of the induſtrial claſs of ſociety. It is curious becauſe the figure is made to carry ſome of the principal implements of the chief trades or manufactures, and thus gives us their ordinary forms. We need only repeat the enumeration of theſe from the text. It is, we are told, a man who holds in his right hand a pair of ſhears (*unes forces*); in his left hand he has a great knife (*un grant couſtel*); "and he muſt have at his girdle an inkſtand (*une eſcriptoire*), and on his ear a pen for writing (*et ſur l'oreille une penne à eſcripre*)." Accordingly we ſee the ink-pot and the caſe for writing implements ſuſpended at the girdle, but by accident the pen does not appear on the ear in our engraving. It is curious through how great a length of time the practice of placing the pen behind the ear has continued in uſe.

No. 229. Induſtry.

The

The puniſhments of the middle ages are remarkable, ſtill more ſo in other countries than in England, for a mixture of a ſmall amount of feeling of ſtrict juſtice with a very large proportion of the mere feeling of vengeance. Savage ferocity in the commiſſion of crime led to no leſs ſavage cruelty in retaliation. We have ſeen, in a former chapter, that this was not the ſentiment of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, but that their criminal laws were extremely mild; but after the Norman conqueſt, more barbarous feelings on this ſubject were brought over from the Continent. Impriſonment itſelf, even before trial, was made frightfully cruel; the dungeons into which the accuſed were thrown were often filthy holes, ſometimes with water running through them, and, as a refinement in cruelty, loathſome reptiles were bred in them, and the priſoners were not only allowed inſufficient food, but they were ſometimes ſtripped naked, and thrown into priſon in that condition. In the early Engliſh romance of the "Seven Sages" (the text printed by Weber), when the emperor was perſuaded by his wife to order her ſtep-ſon for execution, he commanded that he ſhould be taken, ſtripped naked of his clothes, and then hanged aloft—

> *Quik he het* (commanded) *his ſone take,*
> *And ſpoili him of clothes nake,*
> *And beten him with ſcourges ſtronge,*
> *And afterward him hegge* (high) *anhonge.*—Weber, iii. 21.

At the interceſſion of one of the wiſe men, the youth is reſpited and thrown into priſon, but without his clothing; and when, on a ſubſequent occaſion, he was brought out of priſon for judgment, he remained ſtill naked.

Our three cuts which follow illuſtrate the ſubject of mediæval puniſhments for crimes and offences. The firſt (No. 230) is taken from a well-known manuſcript, in the Britiſh Muſeum, of the fourteenth century (MS. Reg. 10 E. iv.), and repreſents a monk and a lady, whoſe career has brought them into the ſtocks, an inſtrument of puniſhment which has figured in ſome of our former chapters. It is a very old mode of puniſhing offenders, and appears, under the Latin name of *cippus*, in early records of the middle ages. An old Engliſh poem, quoted by Mr. Halliwell in his

his Dictionary, from a manuſcript at leaſt as old as the fifteenth century, recounting the puniſhments to which ſome miſdoers were condemned, ſays:—

And twenty of thes oder ay in a pytt,
In ſtokkes and feturs for to ſytt.

The ſtocks are frequently referred to in writers of the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries, and they have not yet become entirely obſolete.

No. 230. A Party in the Stocks.

The *Leeds Mercury* for April 14, 1860, informs us that, "A notorious character, named John Gambles, of Stanningley (Pudſey), having been convicted ſome months ago for Sunday gambling, and ſentenced to ſit in the ſtocks for ſix hours, left the locality, returned lately, and ſuffered his puniſhment by ſitting in the ſtocks from two till eight o'clock on Thurſday laſt." They were formerly employed alſo, in place of fetters, in the inſide of priſons—no doubt in order to cauſe ſuffering by irkſome reſtraint; and this was ſo common that the Latin term *cippus*, and the French *ceps*, were commonly uſed to deſignate the priſon itſelf. It may be remarked of theſe ſtocks, that they preſent a peculiarity which we may perhaps call a primitive character. They are not ſupported on poſts, or fixed in any way to the ſpot, but evidently hold the people who are placed in them in confinement merely by their weight, and by the impoſſibility of walking with them on the legs, eſpecially when more perſons than one are confined in them. This is probably the way in which they were uſed in priſons.

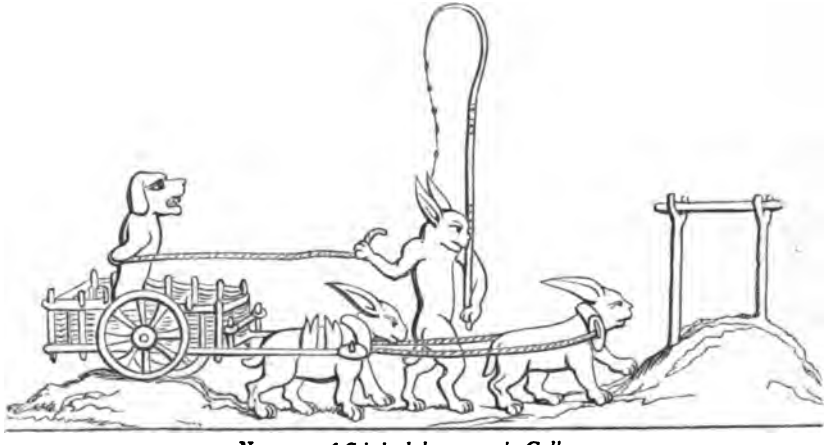
A material part of the puniſhment of the ſtocks, when employed in the open air, conſiſted, of courſe, in the public diſgrace to which the victim was expoſed. We might ſuppoſe that the ſhame of ſuch expoſure was keenly felt in the middle ages, from the frequency with which it was employed. This expoſure before the public was, we know, originally, the chief characteriſtic of the ducking-ſtool, for the proceſs of ducking the victim in the water ſeems to have been only added to it at a later period. Our cut No. 231, taken from an illumination in the unique manuſcript of

No. 231. An Offender Expoſed to Public Shame.

the "Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles," in the Hunterian Library, at Glaſgow, repreſents a perſon thus expoſed to the ſcorn and deriſion of the populace in the executioner's cart, which is drawn through the ſtreets of a town. To be carried about in a cart was always conſidered as eſpecially diſgraceful, probably becauſe it was thus that malefactors were uſually conducted to the gallows. In the early romances of the cycle of king Arthur we have an incident which forms an apt illuſtration of the prevalence of this feeling. Sir Lancelot, when haſtening to reſcue his lady, queen

queen Guenever, has the misfortune to loſe his horſe, and, meeting with a carter, he ſeizes his cart as the only means of conveyance, for the weight of his armour prevented him from walking. Queen Guenever and her ladies, from a bay window of the caſtle of ſir Meliagraunce, ſaw him approach, and one of the latter exclaimed, "See, madam, where as rideth in a cart a goodly armed knight! I ſuppoſe that he rideth to hanging." Guenever, however, ſaw by his ſhield that it was ſir Lancelot. "'Ah, moſt noble knight,' ſhe ſaid, when ſhe ſaw him in this condition, 'I ſee well that thou haſt been hard beſted, when thou rideſt in a cart.' Then ſhe rebuked that lady that compared him to one riding in a cart to hanging. 'It was foul mouthed,' ſaid the queen, 'and evil compared, ſo to compare the moſt noble knight of the world in ſuch a ſhameful death. Oh Jheſu! defend him and keep him,' ſaid the queen, 'from all miſchievous end.'"

Our next cut (No. 232) is taken from the ſame manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum which furniſhed us with No. 230. The playful draughtſ-



No. 232. A Criminal drawn to the Gallows.

man has repreſented a ſcene from the world "upſo-down," in which the rabbits (or perhaps hares) are leading to execution their old enemy the dog.

 The

The gallows and the wheel were inſtruments of execution of ſuch common uſe in the middle ages that they were continually before people's eyes. Every town, every abbey, and almoſt every large manorial lord, had the right of hanging, and a gallows or tree with a man hanging upon it was ſo frequent an object in the country that it ſeems to have been

No. 233. Mediæval Ornaments of the Landſcape.

almoſt a natural ornament of a landſcape, and it is thus introduced by no means uncommonly in mediæval manuſcripts. The two examples given in our cut No. 233 are taken from the illuminations in the manuſcript of the romance of the "Chevalereux comte d'Artois," in the manuſcript from which this romance was printed by M. Barrois.

CHAPTER XVI.

OLD ENGLISH COOKERY.—HISTORY OF "GOURMANDISE."—ENGLISH COOKERY OF THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.—BILLS OF FARE.—GREAT FEASTS.

I HAVE ſpoken of the ceremonious forms of the ſervice of the mediæval table, but we are juſt now arrived at the period when we begin to have full information on the compoſition of the culinary diſhes in which our anceſtors indulged, and it will perhaps be well to give a brief ſummary of that information as illuſtrative both of the period we have now been conſidering, and of that which follows.

There is a part of the human frame, not very noble in itſelf, which, neverthelefs, many people are ſaid to worſhip, and which has even exerciſed at times a conſiderable influence over man's deſtinies. Gaſtrolatry, indeed, is a worſhip which, at one time or other, has prevailed in different forms over all parts of the world—its hiſtory takes an extenſive range, and is not altogether without intereſt. One of the firſt objects of ſearch in a man who has juſt riſen from ſavage life to civilization is rather naturally refinement in his food, and this deſire more than keeps pace with the advance of general refinement, until cookery becomes one of the moſt important of ſocial inſtitutions. During all periods of which we read in hiſtory, great public acts, of whatever kind, even to the conſecration of a church, have been accompanied with feaſting; and the ſame rule holds good throughout all the different phaſes of our ſocial relations. The materials for the hiſtory of eating are, indeed, abundant, and the field is extenſive.

William of Malmeſbury, as we have ſeen before, tells us that the Anglo-Saxons indulged in great feaſting, and lived in very mean houſes; whereas the Normans eat with moderation, but built for themſelves magnificent manſions. Various alluſions in old writers leave little room for

for doubt that our Anglo-Saxon forefathers indulged in much eating; but, as far as we can gather, for our information is very imperfect, this indulgence conſiſted more in the quantity than in the quality of the food, for their cookery ſeems to have been in general what we call "plain." Refinement in cookery appears to have come in with the Normans; and from the twelfth century to the ſixteenth we can trace the love of the table continually increaſing. The monks, whoſe inſtitution had, to a certain degree, ſeparated them from the reſt of the world, and who uſually, and from the circumſtances perhaps naturally, ſought ſenſual gratifications, fell ſoon into the ſin of gluttony, and they ſeem to have led the way in refinement in the variety and elaborate character of their diſhes. Giraldus Cambrenſis, an eccleſiaſtic himſelf, complains in very indignant terms of the luxurious table kept by the monks of Canterbury in the latter half of the twelfth century; and he relates an anecdote which ſhows how far at that time the clergy were, in this reſpect, in advance of the laity. One day, when Henry II. paid a viſit to Wincheſter, the prior and monks of St. Swithin met him, and fell on their knees before him to complain of the tyranny of their biſhop. When the king aſked what was their grievance, they ſaid that their table had been curtailed of three diſhes. The king, ſomewhat ſurpriſed at this complaint, and imagining, no doubt, that the biſhop had not left them enough to eat, inquired how many diſhes he had left them. They replied, ten; at which the king, in a fit of indignation, told them that he himſelf had no more than three diſhes to his table, and uttered an imprecation againſt the biſhop, unleſs he reduced them to the ſame number.

But although we have abundant evidence of the general fact that our Norman and Engliſh forefathers loved the table, we have but imperfect information on the character of their cookery until the latter half of the fourteenth century, when the rules and receipts for cooking appear to have been very generally committed to writing, and a certain number of cookery-books belonging to this period and to the following century remain in manuſcript, forming very curious records of the domeſtic life of our forefathers. From theſe I will give a few illuſtrations of this ſubject.

ſubject. Theſe cookery-books ſometimes contain plans for dinners of different deſcriptions, or, as we ſhould now ſay, bills of fare, which enable us, by comparing the names of the diſhes with the receipts for making them, to form a tolerably diſtinct notion of the manner in which our forefathers fared at table from four to five hundred years ago. The firſt example we ſhall give is furniſhed by a manuſcript of the beginning of the fifteenth century, and belongs to the latter part of the century preceding; that is, to the reign of Richard II., a period remarkable for the faſhion for luxurious living: it gives us the following bill of fare for the ordinary table of a gentleman, which I will arrange in the form of a bill of fare of the preſent day, modernizing the language, except in the caſe of obſolete words.

Firſt Courſe.

Boar's head enarmed (*larded*), and "bruce," for pottage.
Beef. Mutton. Peſtles (*legs*) of Pork.
Swan. Roasted Rabbit. Tart.

Second Courſe.

Drope and Roſe, for pottage.
Mallard. Pheaſant. Chickens, "farsed" and roasted.
"Malachis," baked.

Third Courſe.

Conings (*rabbits*), in gravy, and hare, in "braſé," for pottage.
Teals, roasted. Woodcocks. Snipes.
"Raffyolys," baked. "Flampoyntes."

It may be well to make the general remark, that the ordinary number of courſes at dinner was three. To begin, then, with the firſt diſh, boar's-head was a favourite article at table, and needs no explanation. The pottage which follows, under the name of *bruce*, was made as follows, according to a receipt in the ſame cookery-book which has furniſhed the bill of fare:—

Take the umbles of a swine, and parboil them (*boil them ſlowly*), and cut them small, and put them in a pot, with some good broth; then take the whites of leeks, and slit them, and cut them small, and put them in, with minced onions, and let it all boil; next take bread steeped in broth, and "draw it up" with blood and vinegar, and put it into a pot, with pepper and cloves, and let it boil; and serve all this together.

In

In the ſecond courſe, *drope* is probably an error for *drore*, a pottage, which, according to the ſame cookery-book, was made as follows:—

Take almonds, and blanch and grind them, and mix them with good meat broth, and seethe this in a pot; then mince onions, and fry them in fresh "grease," and put them to the almonds; take small birds, and parboil them, and throw them into the pottage, with cinnamon and cloves and a little "fair grease," and boil the whole.

Roſe was made as follows:—

Take powdered rice, and boil it in almond-milk till it be thick, and take the brawn of capons and hens, beat it in a mortar, and mix it with the preceding, and put the whole into a pot, with powdered cinnamon and cloves, and whole mace, and colour it with saunders (*ſandal-wood*).

It may be neceſſary to explain that almond-milk conſiſted ſimply of almonds ground and mixed with milk or broth. The *farſure*, or ſtuffing, for chickens was made thus:—

Take fresh pork, seethe it, chop it small, and grind it well; put to it hard yolks of eggs, well mixed together, with dried currants, powder of cinnamon and maces, cubebs, and cloves whole, and roast it.

I am unable to explain the meaning of *malachis*, the diſh which concludes this courſe.

The firſt diſh in the third courſe, coneys, or rabbits, in gravy, was made as follows:—

Take rabbits, and parboil them, and chop them in "gobbets," and seethe them in a pot with good broth; then grind almonds, "dress them up" with beef broth, and boil this in a pot; and, after passing it through a strainer, put it to the rabbits, adding to the whole cloves, maces, pines (*the kernels of the pine cone*), and sugar; colour it with sandal-wood, saffron, bastard or other wine, and cinnamon powder mixed together, and add a little vinegar.

Not leſs complicated was the boar in *braſé*, or *braſey*:—

Take the ribs of a boar, while they are fresh, and parboil them till they are half boiled; then roast them, and, when they are roasted, chop them, and put them in a pot with good fresh beef broth and wine, and add cloves, maces, pines, currants, and powdered pepper; then put chopped onions in a pan, with fresh grease, fry them first and then boil them; next, take bread, steeped in broth, "draw it up" and put it to the onions, and colour it with sandal-wood and saffron, and as it settles, put a little vinegar mixed with powdered cinnamon to it; then take

take brawn, and cut it into slices two inches long, and throw it into the pot with the foregoing, and serve it all up together.

Raffyolys were a ſort of patties, made as follows:—

Take swine's flesh, seethe it, chop it small, add to it yolks of eggs, and mix them well together; put to this a little minced lard, grated cheese, powdered ginger, and cinnamon; make of this balls of the size of an apple, and wrap them up in the cawl of the swine, each ball by itself; make a raised crust of dough, and put the ball in it, and bake it; when they are baked, take yolks of eggs well beaten, with sugar and pepper, coloured with saffron, and pour this mixture over them.

Flampoyntes were made thus:—

Take good "interlarded" pork, seethe it, and chop it, and grind it small; put to it good fat cheese grated, and sugar and pepper; put this in raised paste like the preceding; then make a thin leaf of dough, out of which cut small "points," fry these in grease, and then stick them in the foregoing mixture after it has been put in the crust, and bake it.

Such was a tolerably reſpectable dinner at the end of the fourteenth century; but the ſame treatiſe gives us the following bill of fare, for a larger dinner, though ſtill arranged in three courſes:—

Firſt Courſe.

Browet farsed, and charlet, for pottage.
Baked mallard. Teals. Small birds. Almond milk served with them.
Capon roasted with the syrup.
Roasted veal. Pig roasted "'endored,' and served with the yolk on his neck over gilt." Herons.
A "leche." A tart of flesh.

Second Courſe.

Browet of Almayne and Viaunde rial for pottage.
Mallard. Roasted rabbits. Pheasant. Venison.
Jelly. A leche. Urchynnes (*hedgehogs*).
Pome de orynge.

Third Courſe.

Boar in egurdouce, and Mawmené, for pottage.
Cranes. Kid. Curlew. Partridge. (All roasted.)
A leche. A crustade.
A peacock endored and roasted, and served with the skin.
Cockagris. Flaumpoyntes. Daryoles.
Pears in syrup.

The

The receipt for making *farſed browet*, or *browet farſyn*, is literally as follows:—

Take almonds and pound them, and mix with beef broth, so as to make it thick, and put it in a pot with cloves, maces, and figs, currants, and minced ginger, and let all this seethe; take bread, and steep it in sweet wine, and "draw it up," and put it to the almonds with sugar; then take conyngs (*rabbits*), or rabbettes (*young rabbits*), or squirrels, and first parboil and then fry them, and partridges parboiled; fry them whole for a lord, but otherwise chop them into gobbets; and when they are almost fried, cast them in a pot, and let them boil altogether, and colour with sandal-wood and saffron; then add vinegar and powdered cinnamon strained with wine, and give it a boil; then take it from the fire, and see that the pottage is thin, and throw in a good quantity of powdered ginger.

It is repeated, at the end of this receipt, that, for a lord, a coney, rabbit, ſquirrel, or partridge, ſhould be ſerved whole in this manner. The other pottage in this courſe, *charlet*, was leſs complex, and was made thus:—

Take sweet cow's milk, put it in a pan, throw into it the yolks and white of eggs, and boiled pork, pounded, and sage; let it boil till it curds, and colour it with saffron.

The following was the ſyrup for a capon:—

Take almonds, and pound them, and mix them with wine, till they make a thick "milk," and colour it with saffron, and put it in a saucepan, and put into it a good quantity of figs and currants, and add ground ginger, cloves, galingale (*a ſpice much uſed in the middle ages*), and cinnamon; let all this boil; add sugar, and pour it over your capon or pheasant.

The *leche* in this firſt courſe was, perhaps, the diſh which is called in the receipts a *leche lumbarde*, which was made thus:—

Take raw pork, and pull off the skin, and pick out the skin sinews, and pound the pork in a mortar with raw eggs; add to it sugar, salt, raisins, currants, minced dates, powdered pepper, and cloves; put it in a bladder, and let it seethe till it be done enough, and then cut it into slips of the form of peas-cods: grind raisins in a mortar, mix them with red wine, and put to them almond-milk, coloured with sandal-wood and saffron, and add pepper and cloves, and then boil the whole; when it is boiled, mix cinnamon and ginger with wine and pour on it, and so serve it.

Browet of Almayne, which comes in with the ſecond courſe of this dinner,

dinner, was a rather celebrated pottage. It was made in the following manner:—

Take coneys, and parboil them, and chop them in gobbets, and put them with ribs of pork or kid into a pot, and seethe it; then take ground almonds, and mix them with beef broth, and put this in a pot with cloves, maces, pines, minced ginger, and currants, and with onions, and boil it, and colour it with saffron, and when this is boiled, take the flesh out from the broth, and put it in it; and take "alkanet" (*alkanet is explained in the dictionaries as the name of a plant, wild buglos; it appears to have been used in cookery to give colour*), and fry it, and press it into the pot through a strainer, and finally add a little vinegar and ground ginger mixed together.

The compoſition of *viande royale* was as follows:—

Take Greek wine, or Rhenish wine, and clarified honey, and mix them well with ground rice, ginger, pepper, cinnamon, and cloves, saffron, sugar, mulberries, and sandal-wood; boil the mixture, and salt it, and take care that it be thick.

Pome de oringe was quite a different thing to what we ſhould expect from the name. It was made as follows:—

Take pork liver, pound it well raw, and put to it ground pepper, cloves, cinnamon, saffron, and currants; make of this balls like apples, and wet them well in the white of eggs, and then put them in boiling water, and let them seethe, and when they have seethed a while, take them out, and put them on a spit, and roast them well; then take parsley, and grind it, and wring it up with eggs through a strainer, and put a little flour to it, and with this "endore" the balls while roasting, and, if you will, you may take saffron, sandal-wood, or indigo, to colour them.

Endore was the technical term of the kitchen for waſhing over an article of cookery with yolks of eggs, or any other liquid, to give a ſhiny appearance to its exterior when cooked.

Both the pottages in the third courſe are rather elaborate ones. The following was the proceſs of making boar in *egurdouce*, or *egredouce*, a word which of courſe means "ſour-ſweet:"—

Take dates, washed clean, and currants, and boil them, and pound them together, and in pounding put cloves to them, and mix them up with vinegar, or clarey, or other sweet wine, and put it in a fair pot, and boil it well; and then put to it half a quartern of sugar, or else honey, and half an ounce of cinnamon in powder, and in the "setting down" take a little vinegar and mix with it, and half an ounce of ground ginger, and a little sandal-wood and saffron; and in the boiling put minced ginger to it; next, take fresh brawn, and seethe it, and then cut

it in thin slices, and lay three in a dish, and then take half a pound of pines, and fry them in fresh grease, and throw the pines into it; and when they are thoroughly hot take them out with a skimmer, and let them dry, and cast them into the same pot; and then put the syrup above the brawn in the dishes, and serve it."

Mawmené was made according to the following receipt:—

Take almonds and blanch them and pound them, and mix them with water or wine, and take the brawn of capons or pheasants, and pound it small, and mix it with the other, and add ground rice, and put it in a pot and let it boil; and add powder of ginger and cloves, and cinnamon and sugar; and take rice, and parboil it and grind it, and add it to them, and colour it with sandal-wood, and pour it out in dishes; and take the grains of pomegranates and stick in it, or almonds or pines fried in grease, and strew sugar over it.

The following was the manner of making the *cruſtade*, mentioned in the third courſe of this bill of fare:—

Take chickens, and pigeons, and small birds, and make them clean, and chop them to pieces, and stew them altogether in a good broth made of fair grease and ground pepper and cloves, and add verjus to it, and colour it with saffron; then make raised crusts, and pinch them and lay the flesh therein, and put to it currants, and ground ginger, and cinnamon; and take raw eggs, and break them, and strain them through a strainer into the pottage of the stew, and stir it well together, and pour it into the raised crusts, above the flesh, and then place the covers on them and serve them.

The proceſs of ſerving a peacock "with the ſkin" alſo requires ſome explanation. The ſkin was firſt ſtripped off, with the feathers, tail, and neck and head, and it was ſpread on a table and ſtrewed with ground cummin; then the peacock was taken and roaſted, and "endored" with raw yolks of eggs; and when roaſted, and after it had been allowed to cool a little, it was ſewn into the ſkin, and thus ſerved on the table, always with the laſt courſe, when it looked as though the bird were alive. To make *cokagrys*, you muſt

Take an old cock and pull him, and wash him, and skin him all but the legs, and fill him full of the stuffing made for the pome de oringe; and also take a pig and skin him from the middle downwards, and fill him full of the same stuffing, and sew them fast together, and seethe them; and when they have seethed a good while, take them up and put them on a spit, and roast them well, and endore them with yolks of eggs mixed with saffron; and when they are roasted, before placing them on the table, lay gold and silver foil on them.

Flampoyntes

Flampoyntes have been already explained. Pears in ſyrup were merely boiled in wine, and ſeaſoned with ſugar and ſpices.

In theſe bills of fare, our readers who believe in the prevalence of "old Engliſh roaſt beef," will find that belief ſingularly diſſipated, for our anceſtors ſeem to have indulged in all ſorts of elaborately made diſhes, in which immenſe quantities of ſpices were employed. The number of receipts in theſe early cookery-books is wonderfully great, and it is evident that people ſought variety almoſt above all other things. Among the Sloane manuſcripts in the library of the Britiſh Muſeum, there is a very complete cookery-book (MS. No. 1201) belonging to the latter part of the fifteenth century, which gives ſeven bills of fare of ſeven dinners, each to differ entirely in the diſhes compoſing it from the other, with the object, of courſe, of giving a different dinner every day during ſeven conſecutive days. In the foregoing bills of fare, we have ſeen that on fleſh-days no fiſh was introduced on the table, but fiſh is introduced along with fleſh in the ſeven dinners juſt alluded to, which are, moreover, curious for the number of articles, chiefly birds, introduced in them, which we are not now accuſtomed to eat. The firſt of theſe bills of fare, which are all limited to two courſes, runs as follows:—

Firſt Courſe, of Eleven Diſhes.

Nowmbles (*umbles*) of an harte. Vyand ryalle. The syde of an hert rostede.
Swanne with chauderoun. Fesaunt rostede. Bytore (*bittern*) rostede.
Pyke, and grete gurnarde.
Haggesse of Almayne. Blaunche custade.
A soteltè, a blake bore enarmede with golde.

Second Courſe, of Eleven Diſhes.

Gelé. Cream of almonds.
Kynd kydde. Fillets of an herte endored. Squyrelle rost.
Chykons (*chickens*) ylarded. Partriche and lark rost.
Perche and porpoys rost.
Frytours Lumbard. Payne puffe (*puff-bread*).
A soteltè, a castelle of sylver with fanes (*vanes or flags*) of gold.

It appears that at this time it was conſidered more abſolutely neceſſary than at an earlier period, that each courſe at table ſhould be accompanied with a ſubtilty, or ornamental device in paſtry, repreſenting groups of various

various deſcriptions, as here a black boar and a caſtle. We have here the porpoiſe eaten among fiſhes, and the ſquirrel among animals; we have before ſeen hedgehogs ſerved at table. In the "Ménagier de Paris," a French compilation, made in the year 1393, a hedgehog is directed to have its throat cut, and to be ſkinned and emptied, and then to be arranged as a chicken, and preſſed and well dried in a towel; after this it was to be roaſted and eaten with "cameline," a word the exact meaning of which ſeems not to be known; or in paſtry, with duckling ſauce. Squirrels were to be treated as rabbits. The ſame book gives directions for cooking magpies, rooks, and jackdaws. The ſecond of the ſeven bills of fare given in the Sloane Manuſcript contains turtles (the bird) and throſtles, roaſted; in the third we have roaſted egrets (a ſpecies of heron), ſtarlings, and linnets; in the fourth, "martinettes;" in the fifth, barnacles, "molette," ſparrows, and, among fiſhes, minnows; and in the ſixth, roaſted cormorants, heathcocks, ſheldrakes, dotterels, and thruſhes. The ſeventh bill of fare runs thus:—

Firſt Courſe, of Nine Diſhes.

Long wortes (*vegetables*). An hen in dubate.
Shuldres of motoun.
Wylde goos. Wode doves.
Fresh laumprey. Grete codlynge.
Bonsomers. Tortons, in paste.

Second Courſe, of Ten Diſhes.

Pynnonade (*a confection of almonds and pines*).
Malardes of the rivere.
Cotes, rost, and dampettes.
Quayles, and goldefynche.
Ele reversed. Breme de mere.
Frypours ryalle. Viande en feast.
Quarters of lambe.

The bills of fare I have thus given are intended for dinners of moderate ſize, but I might eaſily have given much larger ones, though we ſhould have learnt nothing more by them than by the ſmaller ones, from which the reader will be able to form a very good judgment of the general ſtyle of eating among our forefathers, when they lived well. The fifteenth

fifteenth century, eſpecially, was celebrated for its great feaſts, at which the conſumption of proviſions was enormous. The bills of expenſes of ſome of them have been preſerved. In the ſixth year of the reign of Edward IV. (A.D. 1466), George Nevile was made archbiſhop of York, and the account of the expenditure for the feaſt on that occaſion contains the following articles:—Three hundred quarters of wheat, three hundred tuns of ale, one hundred tuns of wine, one pint of hypocras, a hundred and four oxen, ſix wild bulls, a thouſand ſheep, three hundred and four calves, the ſame number of ſwine, four hundred ſwans, two thouſand geeſe, a thouſand capons, two thouſand pigs, four hundred plovers, a hundred dozen of quails, two hundred dozen of the birds called "rees," a hundred and four peacocks, four thouſand mallards and teals, two hundred and four cranes, two hundred and four kids, two thouſand chickens, four thouſand pigeons, four thouſand crays, two hundred and four bitterns, four hundred herons, two hundred pheaſants, five hundred partridges, four hundred woodcocks, one hundred curlews, a thouſand egrettes, more than five hundred ſtags, bucks, and roes, four thouſand cold veniſon paſties, a thouſand "parted" diſhes of jelly, three thouſand plain diſhes of jelly, four thouſand cold baked tarts, fifteen hundred hot veniſon paſties, two thouſand hot cuſtards, ſix hundred and eight pikes and breams, twelve porpoiſes and ſeals, with a proportionate quantity of ſpices, ſugared delicacies, and wafers or cakes.

On the inthronation of William Warham as archbiſhop of Canterbury in 1504, the twentieth year of the reign of Henry VII., a feaſt was given for which the following proviſions were purchaſed:—Fifty-four quarters of wheat, twenty ſhillings' worth of fine flour for making wafers, ſix tuns or pipes of red wine, four of claret wine, one of choice white wine, and one of white wine for the kitchen, one butt of malmſey, one pipe of wine of Oſey, two tierces of Rheniſh wine, four tuns of London ale, ſix of Kentiſh ale, and twenty of Engliſh beer, thirty-three pounds' worth of ſpices, three hundred lings, ſix hundred codfiſh, ſeven barrels of ſalted ſalmon, forty freſh ſalmon, fourteen barrels of white herrings, twenty cades of red herrings (each cade containing ſix hundred herrings, which would make a total of twelve thouſand), five barrels of ſalted ſturgeons,

two

two barrels of ſalted eels, ſix hundred freſh eels, eight thouſand whelks, five hundred pikes, four hundred tenches, a hundred carps, eight hundred breams, two barrels of ſalted lampreys, eighty freſh lampreys, fourteen hundred freſh lamperns, a hundred and twenty-four ſalted congers, two hundred great roaches, a quantity of ſeals and porpoiſes, with a conſiderable quantity of other fiſh. It will be underſtood at once that this feaſt took place on a fiſh day.

This habit of profuſe and luxurious living ſeems to have gradually declined during the ſixteenth and firſt part of the ſeventeenth century, until it was extinguiſhed in the great convulſion which produced the interregnum. After the Reſtoration, we find that the table, among all claſſes, was furniſhed more ſoberly, and with plainer and more ſubſtantial diſhes.

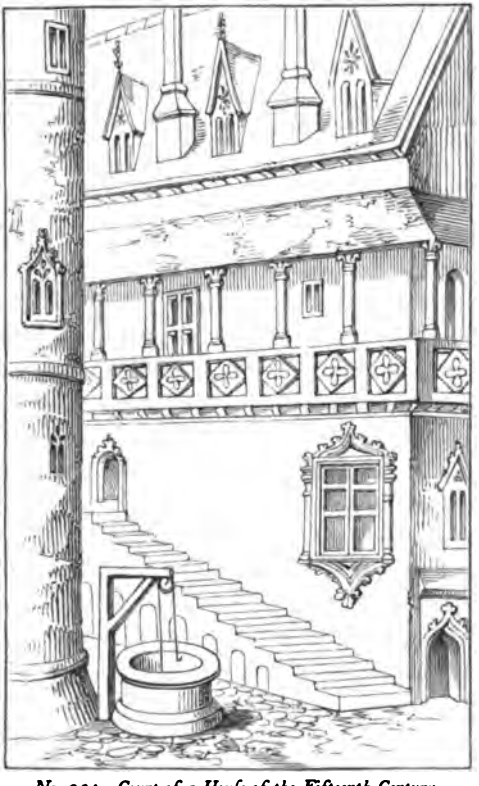
CHAPTER XVII.

SLOW PROGRESS OF SOCIETY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.—ENLARGEMENT OF THE HOUSES.—THE HALL AND ITS FURNITURE.—ARRANGEMENT OF THE TABLE FOR MEALS.—ABSENCE OF CLEANLINESS.—MANNERS AT TABLE.—THE PARLOUR.

THE progreſs of ſociety in the two countries which were moſt cloſely allied in this reſpect, England and France, was ſlow during the fifteenth century. Both countries were engaged either in mutual hoſtility or in deſolating civil wars, which ſo utterly checked all ſpirit of improvement, that the aſpect of ſociety differed little between the beginning and the end of the century in anything but dreſs. At the cloſe of the fourteenth century, the middle claſſes in England had made great advance in wealth and in independence, and the wars of the roſes, which were ſo deſtructive to the nobility, as well as the tendency of the crown to ſet the gentry up as a balance to the power of the feudal barons, helped to make that advance more certain and rapid. This increaſe of wealth appears in the multiplication of furniture and of other houſehold implements, eſpecially thoſe of a more valuable deſcription. We are ſurpriſed, in running our eye through the wills and inventories during this period, at the quantity of plate which was uſually poſſeſſed by country gentlemen and reſpectable burghers. There was alſo a great increaſe both in the number and magnitude of the houſes which intervened between the caſtle and the cottage. Inſtead of having one or two bedrooms, and turning people into the hall to ſleep at night, we now find whole ſuits of chambers; while, where before, the family lived chiefly in the hall, privacy was ſought by the addition of parlours, of which there were often more than one in an ordinary ſized houſe. The hall was in fact already beginning to diminiſh in importance in compariſon with the reſt

of

of the houſe. Whether in town or country, houſes of any magnitude were now generally built round an interior court, into which the rooms almoſt invariably looked, only ſmall and unimportant windows looking towards the ſtreet or country. This arrangement of courſe originated in the neceſſity of ſtudying ſecurity, a neceſſity which was never felt more



No. 234. Court of a Houſe of the Fifteenth Century.

than in the fifteenth century. We have leſs need to ſeek our illuſtrations from manuſcripts during this period, on account of the numerous examples of buildings which ſtill remain in a greater or leſs ſtate of perfection, but ſtill an illumination now and then preſents us with an intereſting picture of

of the architectural arrangements of a dwelling-houſe in the fifteenth century, which may be advantageouſly compared with the buildings that ſtill exiſt. One of theſe is repreſented in our cut No. 234, taken from an illuminated copy of the French tranſlation of Valerius Maximus (MS. No. 6984, in the National Library at Paris). The building to the left is probably the ſtaircaſe turret of the gateway; that before us is the maſs of the houſehold apartments. We are ſuppoſed to be ſtanding within the court. At the foot of the turret is the well, a very important object within the court, where it was always placed in houſes of this deſcription, as in the troubles of thoſe days the houſehold might be obliged to ſhut themſelves up for a day or two and depend for their ſupply of water entirely on what they could get within their walls.

The cut here given (No. 234) is a remarkably good and perfect repreſentation of the exterior, looking towards the court, of the domeſtic buildings. The door on the ground floor to the right is probably, to judge by the poſition of the windows, the entrance to the hall. The ſteps leading to the firſt floor are outſide the wall, an arrangement which is not uncommon in the exiſting examples of houſes of this period in England. We have alſo here the open gallery round the chambers on the firſt floor, which is ſo frequently met with in our houſes of the fifteenth century. It is probable that within the door at the top of the external flight of ſteps, as here repreſented, a ſhort ſtaircaſe led up to the floor on which the chambers were ſituated. Perhaps it may have been a ſtaircaſe into the gallery, as the opening round the corner to the right ſeems to be a door from the gallery into the chambers.

No. 235. A Knight at the Door.

In another illumination in the ſame manuſcript (cut No. 235), a knight is repreſented knocking at the door of a houſe into which he ſeeks admittance. The plain knocker and the ring will

will be recogniſed at once by all who have been accuſtomed to examine the original doors ſtill remaining in ſo many of our old buildings, but why the perſon who thus ſignifies his wiſh to enter ſhould hold the ring with his right hand, and the knocker with his left, is not very clear. The knocker, inſtead of being plain, as in this cut, was often very ornamental. This is, of courſe, the outer door of the houſe, and our readers will not overlook the loophole and the ſmall window through which the perſon who knocked might be examined, and, if neceſſary, interrogated, before the door was opened to him.

Let us now paſs through the door on the ground floor, always open by day, into the hall. This was ſtill the moſt ſpacious apartment in the houſe, and it was ſtill alſo the public room, open to all who were admitted within the precincts. The hall continued to be ſcantily furniſhed. The permanent furniture conſiſted chiefly in benches, and in a ſeat with a back to it for the ſuperior members of the family. The head table at leaſt was now generally a permanent one, and there were in general more permanent tables, or tables dormant, than formerly, but ſtill the greater part of the tables in the hall were made for each meal by placing boards upon treſtles. Cuſhions, with ornamental cloths, called *bankers* and *dorſers*, for placing over the benches and backs of the ſeats of the better perſons at the table, were now alſo in general uſe. Tapeſtry was ſuſpended on the walls of the hall on ſpecial occaſions, but it does not appear to have been of common uſe. Another article of furniture had now become common—the buffet, or ſtand on which the plate and other veſſels were arranged. Theſe articles appear to have been generally in the keeping of the butler, and only to have been brought into the hall and arranged on the buffet at meal times, for ſhow as much as for uſe. The dinner party in our cut No. 236, taken from an illumination of a manuſcript of the romance of the "Comte d'Artois," formerly in the poſſeſſion of M. Barrois, a diſtinguiſhed and well-known collector in Paris, repreſents a royal party dining at a table with much ſimplicity. The ornamental veſſel on the table is probably the ſalt-cellar, which was a very important article at the feaſt. Beſides the general utility of ſalt, it was regarded with profoundly ſuperſtitious feelings, and it was conſidered deſirable

deſirable that it ſhould be the firſt article placed on the table. We have ſtill a feeling of ſuperſtition with regard to the ſpilling of ſalt. A metrical code for the behaviour of ſervants, written in the fifteenth century, directs that in preparing the table for meals, the table-cloth was firſt to be ſpread,

No. 236. A Dinner Scene at Court.

and then, invariably and in all places, the ſalt was to be placed upon it; next were to be arranged ſucceſſively, the knives, the bread, the wine, and then the meat, after which the waiter was to bring other things, when each was called for:—

Tu dois mettre premierement
En tous lieux et en tout hoſtel
La nappe, et apres le ſel;
Couſteaulx, pain, vin, et puis viande,
Puis apporter ce qu'on demande.

In our laſt cut (No. 236) it will be ſeen that the "nappe" is duly laid, and upon it are ſeen the ſalt-cellar, the bread (round cakes), and the cups for wine. Knives are wanting, and the plates ſeldom appear on the table

table in theſe dinner ſcenes of the fifteenth century, any more than in the previous period. This, no doubt, aroſe from the common practice at that time, of people carrying their own knives with them in a ſheath attached to the girdle. We find, moreover, few knives enumerated in our inventories of houſehold goods and chattels. In the Engliſh metrical "Stans Puer ad Menſam," or rules for behaviour at table, written by Lydgate, the gueſt is told to "bring no knyves unſkoured to the table," which can only mean that he is to keep his own knife that he carries with him clean. The two ſervants are here duly equipped for duty, with the towel thrown over the ſhoulder. The table appears to be placed on two board-ſhaped treſtles, but the artiſt has forgotten to indicate the ſeats. But in our next cut (No. 237), a very private party, taken from a manu-

No. 237. A Private Dinner.

ſcript of the early French tranſlation of the Decameron (in the National Library at Paris, No. 6887), are placed in a ſeat with a back to it, although the table is ſtill evidently a board placed upon treſtles. It may be remarked that in dinner ſcenes of this century, the gentlemen at table are almoſt always repreſented with their hats on their heads.

As we have already hinted, the inventories of this period give us curious information on the furniture of houſes of different deſcriptions. We learn from one of theſe, made in 1446, that there were at that time belonging to the hall of the priory of Durham, one dorſal or dorſer, embroidered with the birds of St. Cuthbert and the arms of the church, five pieces of red cloth (three embroidered and two plain), no doubt for the

the ſame purpoſe of throwing over the ſeats; ſix cuſhions; three baſins of braſs; and three waſhing-baſins. A gentleman at Northallerton, in Yorkſhire, who made his will in 1444, had in his hall, thirteen jugs or pots of braſs, four baſins, and two ewers (of courſe, for waſhing the hands), three candleſticks, five (metal) diſhes, three kettles, nine veſſels of lead and pewter, "utenſils of iron belonging to the hall," valued at two ſhillings—probably the fire-irons, one dorſer and one banker. An inventory of a gentleman's goods in the year 1463, apparently in the ſouthern part of England (printed in the "New Retroſpective Review"), gives, as the contents of the hall,—a ſtanding ſpear, a hanging of ſtained work, a mappa-mundi (a map of the world) of parchment—a curious article for the hall, a ſide-table, one "dormond" table (a permanent table), a beam with ſix candleſticks.

A vocabulary of the fifteenth century ("Volume of Vocabularies," p. 197) enumerates, as the ordinary furniture of the hall, a board, a treſtle, a banker, a dorſer, a natte (table-cloth), a table dormant, a baſin, a laver, fire on a hearth, a brand or torch, a yule-block, an andiron, tongs, a pair of bellows, wood for the fire, a long ſettle, a chair, a bench, a ſtool, a cuſhion, and a ſcreen. The permanent or dormant table, is ſhown in the ſcene given in our cut No. 238, taken from the beautifully illuminated manuſcript of the "Roman de la Violette," at Paris, ſome facſimiles from which were privately diſtributed by the comte de Baſtard, from whom I had the honour of receiving a copy. We have here alſo the ſeat with its back, and the buffet with its jugs and diſhes. In our cut No. 236, we had the waits or trumpeters, who were always attached to the halls of great people to announce the commencement of the dinner. Only perſons of a certain rank were allowed this piece of oſtentation; but everybody had minſtrelſy to dinner who could obtain it, and when it was at hand. The wandering minſtrel was welcome in every hall, and for this very reaſon the claſs of ambulatory muſicians was very numerous. In the ſcene given in this cut (No. 238), the wandering minſtrel, or, according to the ſtory, a nobleman in that diſguiſe, has juſt arrived, and he is allowed, without ceremony or ſuſpicion, to ſeat himſelf at the fire, apparently on a ſtool, beſide the two individuals at dinner.

The

The floor of the hall was uſually paved with tiles, or with flag ſtones, and very little care appears to have been ſhown to cleanlineſs, as far as it was concerned, except that it was uſual to ſtrew it with ruſhes. Among the various French metrical "Contenances de Table," or directions for

No. 238. Reception of the Minſtrel.

behaviour at table, of the fifteenth century, the perſon inſtructed is told that he muſt not *ſpit upon the table* at dinner time—

Ne craiche par deſſus la table,
Car c'eſt choſe deſconvenable,

which is neceſſarily an intimation that he muſt ſpit upon the floor. In another of theſe pieces he is told that when he waſhes his mouth at table, he muſt not reject the water into the baſin—

Quant ta bouche tu laveras,
Ou bacin point ne cracheras.

The reaſon for this rule was evidently the circumſtance that one baſin might

might ſerve for all the company; but the alternative again was of courſe to ſpit the water out upon the floor. Again, in one of theſe codes, the learner is told that when he makes ſops in his wine, he muſt either drink all the wine in the glaſs, or throw what remains on the floor:—

Enfant, ſe tu faiz en ton verre
Souppes de vin aucunement,
Boy tout le vin entierement,
Ou autrement le gecte à terre.

Or, as it is expreſſed in another ſimilar code more briefly—

Se tu fais ſouppes en ton verre,
Boy le vin ou le gette à terre.

There can be no doubt that all this muſt have made an extremely dirty floor. Another rather *naïve* direction ſhows that no more attention was paid to the cleanlineſs of the benches and ſeats; it is conſidered neceſſary to tell the ſcholar always to look at his ſeat before he ſits down at table, to aſſure himſelf that there is nothing dirty upon it!—

Enfant, prens de regarder peine
Sur le ſiege où tu te ſierras,
Se aucune choſe y verras
Qui ſoit deſhonneſte ou vilaine.

The fireplace at the ſide of the hall, with hearth and chimney, were now in general uſe. An example is given in our laſt cut; another will be ſeen in our cut No. 239, and here, though evidently in the hall, and a monaſtic hall too, the proceſs of cooking is purſued at it. The monks appear to be taking a joyous repaſt, not quite in keeping with the ſtrict rule of their order, and the way in which they are conducting themſelves towards the women who have been introduced into the monaſtery does not ſpeak in favour of monaſtic continence. This picture is from a manuſcript bible, of the fifteenth century, in the National Library at Paris (No. 6829).

Manners at table appear to have been loſing ſome of the ſtrictneſs and ſtiffneſs of their ceremonial, while they retained their rudeneſs. The bowl of water was carried round to the gueſts, and each waſhed his hands before

before dinner, but the waſhing after dinner appears now to have been commonly omitted. In one of the directions for table already quoted,

No. 239. A Monaſtic Feaſt.

the ſcholar is told that he muſt waſh himſelf when he riſes from bed in the morning, once at dinner, and once at ſupper, in all thrice a day :—

Enfant, d'honneur lave tes mains
A ton lever, à ton diſner,
Et puis au ſoupper, ſans finer ;
Ce ſont trois foys à tout le moins.

And again, in another ſimilar code,—

Lave tes mains devant diſner,
Et auſſi quant vouldras ſoupper.

Still people put their victuals to their mouth with their fingers, for, though forks were certainly known in the previous century, they were not uſed for conveying the food to the mouth. It was conſidered, nevertheleſs, bad manners to carry the victuals to the mouth with the knife—

Ne faix pas ton morſel conduire
A ton couſtel qui te peult nuire.

Another

Another practice ſtrictly forbidden in theſe rules was picking your teeth with your knife while at table. From the uſe thus made of the hand, in the abſence of forks, it may be ſuppoſed that we ſhould have directions for keeping it clean during the proceſs of eating. One of theſe appears droll enough to us at the preſent day. It is directed that a perſon ſitting at table in company is not to blow his noſe with the hand with which he takes his meat. Handkerchiefs were not yet in uſe, and the alternative of courſe was that, if any one felt the need of performing the operation in queſtion, he was to lay down his knife, and to do it with the hand which held it. In one of the French codes this direction is given rather covertly, as follows:—

Ne touche ton nez à main nue
Dont ta viande eſt tenue.

But in another it is enunciated more crudely, thus: —

Enfant, ſe ton nez eſt morveux,
Ne le torche de la main nue
De quoy ta viande eſt tenue;
Le fait eſt vilain et honteux.

All theſe circumſtances ſhow a ſtate of manners which was very far from refined.

Among other directions for table, you are told not to leave your ſpoon in your platter; not to return back to your plate the food you have put in your mouth; not to dip your meat in the ſalt-cellar to ſalt it, but to take a little ſalt on your knife and put it on the meat; not to drink from a cup with a dirty mouth; not to offer to another perſon the remains of your pottage; not to eat much cheeſe; to take only two or three nuts, when they are placed before you; not to play with your knife; not to roll your napkin into a cord, or tie it in knots; and not to get intoxicated during dinner-time!

Our next cut (No. 240) repreſents one of the backed ſeats, after a pattern of this century. It is taken from a manuſcript of the romance of Launcelot du Lac, in the National Library at Paris (No. 594). It is probable that this ſeat belonged to the parlour, or, as the name ſignifies,

converſation room. The cuſtom ſtill continued of making ſeats with diviſions, ſo that each perſon ſat in a ſeparate compartment. A triple

No. 240. A Domeſtic Scene.

ſeat of this kind is repreſented in our cut No. 241, taken from a manuſcript of the French Boccaccio in the National Library at Paris.

No. 241. A Triple Seat.

The parlour ſeems to have been ornamented with more care, and to have

have been better furniſhed than the hall. This apartment appears to have been placed ſometimes on the ground floor, and ſometimes on the floor above, and large houſes had uſually two or three parlours. It had often windows in receſſes, with fixed ſeats on each ſide; and the fireplace was ſmaller and more comfortable than that of the hall. As carpets came into more general uſe, the parlour was one of the firſt rooms to receive this luxury. In the inventory I have already quoted from the "New Retroſpective Review," the following articles of furniture are deſcribed as being in the parlour—

A hanging of worſted, red and green.
A cupboard of aſh-boards.
A table, and a pair of treſtles.
A branch of latten, with four lights.
A pair of andirons.
A pair of tongs.
A form to ſit upon.
And a chair.

This will give us a very good idea of what was the uſual furniture of the parlour in the fifteenth century. The only movable ſeats are a ſingle bench, and one chair—perhaps a ſeat with a back like that ſhown above. The table was even here formed by laying a board upon treſtles. The cupboard was peculiar to this part of the houſe; many of my readers will probably remember the parlour cupboards in our old country houſes, the branched candleſtick of metal, ſuſpended from the ceiling, and the tongs and andirons for the fire.

The principal articles of furniture in the parlour are all exhibited in illuminations in manuſcripts of the ſame period. The "hanging of worſted" was, of courſe, a piece of tapeſtry for the wall, or for ſome part of the wall, for the room was in many, perhaps in moſt, caſes, only partially covered. Sometimes, indeed, it appears only to have been hung up on occaſions, perhaps for company, when it ſeems to have been placed behind the chief ſeat.* The wall itſelf was frequently adorned with

* A Bury will, of the date 1522, mentioned a little further on, enumerates among the household furniture "the steynyd clothes hangyng abowte the parlour behynde the halle chemny."

paintings,

paintings, in common houſes rude and merely ornamental, while in others of a better claſs they repreſented hiſtories, ſcenes from romances, and religious ſubjects, much like thoſe exhibited on the tapeſtries themſelves. In the cut annexed (No. 242), taken from a beautifully illuminated manuſcript of the romance of "Lancelot," in the National Library at Paris, No. 6784, we have a repreſentation of a parlour with wall paintings of this kind. Morgan le Fay is ſhowing king Arthur the adventures of Lancelot, which ſhe had cauſed to be painted in a room in her palace.

No. 242. Morgan le Fay ſhowing king Arthur the Paintings of the Adventures of Lancelot.

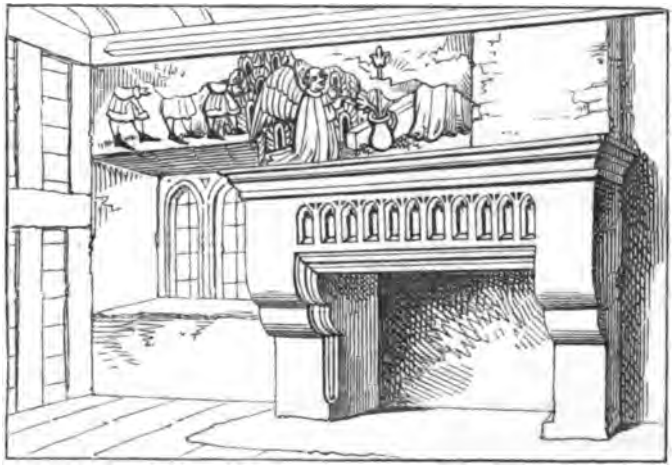
Paintings of this kind are very often alluded to in the old writers, eſpecially in the poets, as every one knows who has read the "Romance of the Roſe," the works of Chaucer, or that ſingular and curious poem, the "Paſtyme of Pleaſure," by Stephen Hawes. Chaucer, in his "Dream," ſpeaks of—

A chamber paint
Full of ſtories old and divers,
More than I can as now reherſe.

There was in the caſtle of Dover an apartment called Arthur's Hall, and another named Guenevra's Chamber, which have been ſuppoſed to be

ſo

ſo called from the ſubjects of the paintings with which they were decorated; and a ſtill more curious illuſtration of the foregoing drawing is furniſhed by an old houſe of this period ſtill exiſting in New Street, Saliſbury, a room in which preſerves its painting in diſtemper, occupying the upper part of the wall, like the ſtory of Lancelot in the pictures of the room of Morgan le Fay. We give a ſketch of the ſide of this room occupied by the painting in the accompanying cut (No. 243). It occupies the ſpace



No. 243. Wall-Paintings ſtill remaining in a Houſe at Saliſbury.

above the fireplace, and the windows looking into the ſtreet, but it has been much damaged by modern alterations in the houſe. The ſubject, as will at once be ſeen, was of a ſacred character—the offering of the three kings.

The window to the left of the fireplace, which is one of the original windows of this houſe, has a deep ſill, or ſeat, which was intended as one of the accommodations for ſitting down. This was not unfrequently made with a receſs in the middle, ſo as to form a ſeat on each ſide, on which two perſons might ſit face to face, and which was thus more convenient both for converſation, and for looking through the window at what was going on without. This appears to have been a favourite ſeat with

with the female part of the houſehold when employed in needlework and other ſedentary occupations. There is an alluſion to this uſe of the window fill in the curious old poem of the "Lady Beſſy," which is probably ſomewhat obſcured by the alterations of the modern copyiſt; when the young princeſs kneels before her father, he takes her up and ſeats her in the window:—

I came before my father the king,
And kneeled down upon my knee;
I deſired him lowly of his bleſſing,
And full ſoon he gave it unto me.
And in his arms he could me thring,
And ſet me in a window ſo high.

The words of our inventory, "a form to ſit upon, and a chair," deſcribe well the ſcanty furniſhing of the rooms of a houſe at this period. The cauſe of this poverty in movables, which aroſe more from the general inſecurity of property than the inability to procure it, is curiouſly illuſtrated by a paſſage from a letter of Margaret Paſton to her huſband, written early in the reign of Edward IV. "Alſo," ſays the lady to her ſpouſe, "if ye be at home this Chriſtmas, it were well done ye ſhould do purvey a garniſh or twain of pewter veſſel, two baſins and two ewers, and twelve candleſticks, for ye have too few of any of theſe to ſerve this place; I am afraid to purvey much ſtuff in this place, till we be ſurer thereof." As yet, a form or bench continued to be the uſual ſeat, which could be occupied by ſeveral perſons at once. One chair, as in the inventory juſt mentioned, was conſidered enough for a room, and was no doubt preſerved for the perſon of moſt dignity, perhaps for the lady of the houſehold. Towards the latter end of this period, however, chairs, made in a ſimpler form, and ſtools, the latter very commonly three-legged, became more abundant. Yet in a will dated ſo late as 1522 (printed in the "Bury Wills" of the Camden Society), an inhabitant of Bury in Suffolk, who ſeems to have poſſeſſed a large houſe and a conſiderable quantity of houſehold furniture for the time, had, of tables and chairs, only "a tabyll of waynſkott with to (*two*) joynyd treſtelles, ij. joynyd ſtolys of the beſt, a gret joynyd cheyre at the deyſe in the halle—the gretteſt cloſe cheyre, ij. fote ſtoles—a rounde tabyll of waynſkott with lok and key, the ſecunde joynyd

joynyd cheyer, ij. joynyd ſtolys." The ordinary forms of chairs and ſtools at the latter end of the fifteenth century are ſhown in our cut No. 244, taken from a very curious ſculpture in alto-relievo on one of the columns

No. 244. Sculpture from the Hôtel-de-Ville, Bruſſels.

of the Hôtel-de-Ville at Bruſſels. At this time we begin to find examples of chairs ingeniouſly conſtructed, for folding up or taking to pieces, ſo as to be eaſily laid aſide or carried away. Some of theſe reſemble exactly our modern camp-ſtools. A curious bed-room chair of this conſtruction is repreſented in our cut No. 245, taken from a fine illuminated manuſcript of the romance of the "Comte d'Artois," of the fifteenth century, in the collection of M. Barrois of Paris, but now, I believe, in the library of lord Aſhburnham. The conſtruction of this chair is too evident to need explanation. It explains the phraſe, uſed in ſome of our old writers, of unfolding a chair.

No. 245. A Bedroom Chair.

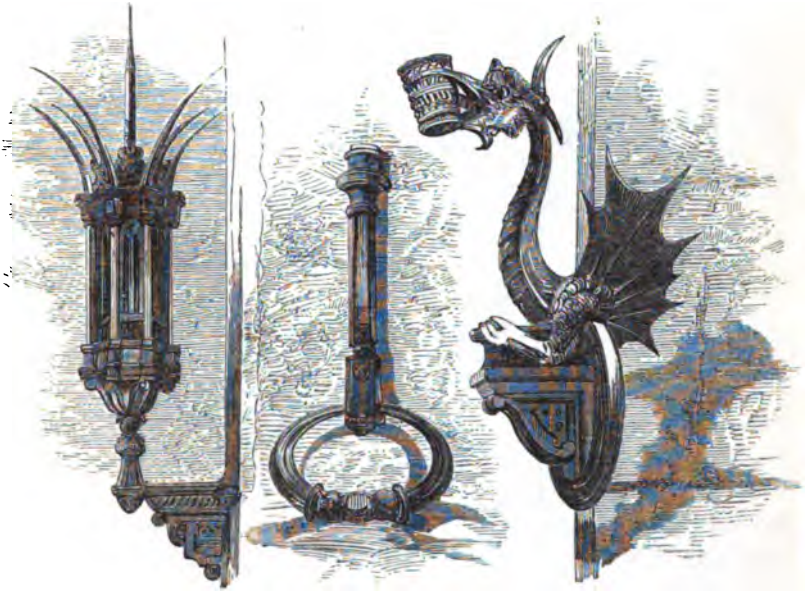
At this time much greater uſe appears to have been made of candles than formerly, and they ſeem to have been conſtructed of different ſubſtances and qualities. Candleſticks, made uſually of the mixed metal called laton

laton or latten (an alloy of braſs), were found in all houſes; they appear to have been ſtill moſtly made with a ſpike on which the candle was ſtuck, and ſometimes they were ornamented, and furniſhed with mottoes. John Baret, who made his will at Bury, in 1463, poſſeſſed a "candylſtykke of laten with a pyke," two "lowe candylſtikkez of a ſorth," (*i.e.* to match), and three "candelſtykkes of laton whereupon is wretyn *grace me governe*." A teſtament dated in 1493 enumerates "a lowe candilſtyke of laton, oon of my candelſtykes, and ij. high candilſtykes of laton." In the will of Agas Herte of Bury, in 1522, "ij. belle canſtykes and a leſſer canſtyke," occurs twice, ſo that they ſeem to have formed two ſets, and there is a third mention of "ij. bell canſtykes." We alſo find mention at this time of double candleſticks, which were probably intended to be placed in an elevated poſition to give light to the whole apartment. Our inventory of the contents of the parlour contains "a branch of latten, with four lights," which was no doubt intended for this purpoſe of lighting the whole room (a ſort of chandelier), and appears to have been identical with the candlebeam, not unfrequently mentioned in the old inventories.

No. 246. A Chandelier.

A widow of Bury, named Agnes Ridges, who made her will in 1492, mentions "my candylbeme that hangyth in my hall with vj. bellys of laton ſtandyng thereon," *i.e.* ſix cups in which the candles were placed. Our cut No. 246 repreſents a candlebeam with four lights. It is ſlung round a ſimple pulley in the ceiling, by a ſtring which was fixed to the ground. It is taken from a manuſcript of the "Traité des Tournois" (treatiſe of tournaments), by king René, in the National Library at Paris, No. 8352; and as the ſcene is repreſented as taking place in a princely hall, which is fitted up for a feſtive entertainment, we may take it as a curious proof of the rudeneſs which was ſtill mixed up with the magnificence of the fifteenth century. In a fine illumination in a manuſcript

ſcript of Froiſſart in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Reg. 18 E. 2), repreſenting the fatal maſque at the court of Charles VI. of France, in 1393, in which ſeveral of the courtiers were burnt to death, we have, in the king's palace, a chandelier exactly like that in our laſt cut, except that each candleſtick on the beam contains two candles—a "double candleſtick." This manuſcript is of the latter part of the fifteenth century. It had been the cuſtom, on feſtive occaſions, or in ceremonies where large apart-



No. 247. Candle and Torch-holders.

ments required to be lighted, to do this by means of torches which ſervants held in their hands. This cuſtom was very common, and is frequently ſpoken of or alluded to in the mediæval writers. Nevertheleſs, the inconvenience and even danger attending it, led to various plans for ſuperſeding it. One of theſe was, to fix up againſt the walls of the room frames for holding the torches, of which an example is given in the accompanying cut (No. 247), repreſenting a torch-frame, ſtill preſerved in

the Palazzo Strozzi at Florence. One of the group, it will be obſerved, has a long ſpike, intended to hold a large candle. Candleſticks fixed to the wall in various manners are ſeen in manuſcripts of the fifteenth century; and an example is given in our cut No. 248, taken from a part

No. 248. Ladies Seated.

of the ſame illumination of Froiſſart mentioned before. The candle is here placed before a little image, on the upper part of the fireplace, but whether this was for a religious purpoſe or not, is not clear. In this cut, the three princeſſes are ſeated on the large chair or ſettle, which is turned with its back to the fire. This important article of furniture is now found in the parlour as well as in the hall.

CHAPTER XVIII.

IN-DOOR LIFE AND CONVERSATION.—PET ANIMALS.—THE DANCE.—RERE-SUPPERS.—ILLUSTRATIONS FROM THE "NANCY" TAPESTRY.

AS people began to have leſs taſte for the publicity of the old hall, they gradually withdrew from it into the parlours for many of the purpoſes to which the hall was originally devoted, and thus the latter loſt much of its former character. The parlour was now the place commonly uſed for the family meals. In a curious little treatiſe on the "moſt vyle and deteſtable uſe of dyce play," compoſed near the beginning of the ſixteenth century, one of the interlocutors is made to ſay, "So down we came again," *i.e.* from the chambers above, "into the parlour, and found there divers gentlemen, all ſtrangers to me; and what ſhould I ſay more, but to dinner we went." The dinner hour, we learn from this ſame tract, was then at the hour of noon; "the table," we are told, "was fair ſpread with diaper cloths, the cupboard garniſhed with much goodly plate." The cupboard ſeems now to have been conſidered a neceſſary article of furniture in the parlour; it had originally belonged to the hall, and was of ſimple conſtruction. One of the great objects of oſtentation in a rich man's houſe was his plate; which, at dinner time, he brought forth, and cauſed to be ſpread on a table in ſight of his gueſts; afterwards, to exhibit the plate to more advantage, the table was made with ſhelves, or ſteps, on which the different articles could be arranged in rows one above another. It was called in French and Anglo-Norman a *buffet*, or a *dreſſoir* (dreſſer), the latter name, it is ſaid, being given to it becauſe on it the different articles were *dreſſés*, or arranged. The Engliſh had, in their own language, no ſpecial name for this article of furniture, ſo that they called it literally a cup-board, or board for the cups. In courſe of time, and eſpecially when it was removed from the hall

hall into the parlour, this article was made more elaborately, and doors were added to it, for ſhutting up the plate when not in uſe. It thus became equivalent to our modern ſideboard. We have ſeen a figure of

No. 249. A Sick Room.

a cupboard of this more complicated ſtructure in a cut in our laſt chapter; and we ſhall have others of different forms in our next.

Our cut No. 249 is a good repreſentation of the interior of a parlour furniſhed

furniſhed with the large ſeat, or ſettle, and with rather an elaborate and elegant cupboard. The latter, however, does not belong to the picture itſelf, having been introduced from another in the ſame manuſcript by Mr. Shaw, in his beautiful work the "Dreſſes and Decorations of the Middle Ages," from which it is here taken. It is found in a fine manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Reg. 15 D. 1), containing the French tranſlation of the "Hiſtoria Scholaſtica" of Peter Comeſtor, and written in the year 1470. The ſubject of this illumination is taken from the Scriptural ſtory of Tobit, who here lies ſick and blind on the ſettle, having juſt deſpatched his ſon Tobias on his journey to the city of Rages. The lady cooking is no doubt intended for his wife Anna; it will be obſerved that ſhe is following the directions of a book. Cookery books and books of medicinal receipts were now common. The kettle is ſuſpended over the fire by a jack of a conſtruction that occurs not unfrequently in the manuſcripts of this period. The ſettle is placed with its back to the window, which is covered with a large curtain.

As the parlours ſaved the domeſtic arrangements of the houſehold from the too great publicity of the hall, ſo on the other hand they relieved the bedchambers from much of what had previouſly been tranſacted in them, and thus rendered them more private. In the poem of the "Lady Beſſie," when the earl of Derby and Humphrey Brereton viſit the young princeſs, they are introduced to her in her bower, or chamber, but ſhe immediately conducts the latter into the parlour, in order to converſe with him:—

She took him in her arms, and kiſſed him times three;
"Welcome," ſhe ſaid, "Humphrey Brereton;
How haſt thou ſpedd in the weſt countrey?
I pray thee tell me quickly and anon."
Into a parlour they went from thence,
There were no more but hee and ſhee.

The female part of the family now paſſed in the parlour much of the time which had been formerly paſſed in their chambers. It was often their place of work. Young ladies, even of great families, were brought up not only ſtrictly, but even tyrannically, by their mothers, who kept them conſtantly at work, exacted from them almoſt ſlaviſh deference and reſpect,

reſpect, and even counted upon their earnings. The parental authority was indeed carried to an almoſt extravagant extent. There are ſome curious inſtances of this in the correſpondence of the Paſton family. Agnes Paſton, the wife of ſir William Paſton, the judge, appears to have been a very harſh mother. At the end of June 1454, Elizabeth Clere, a kinſwoman who appears to have lived in great intimacy with the family, ſent to John Paſton, the lady's eldeſt ſon, the following account of the treatment of his ſiſter Elizabeth, who was of marriageable age, and for whom a man of the name of Scroope had been propoſed as a huſband. "Therefore, couſin," writes Jane Clere, "meſeemeth he were good for my couſin your ſiſter, without that ye might get her a better; and if ye can get a better, I would adviſe you to labour it in as ſhort time as ye may goodly, for ſhe was never in ſo great a ſorrow as ſhe is now-a-days, for ſhe may not ſpeak with no man, whoſoever come, nor even may ſee nor ſpeak with my man, nor with ſervants of her mother's, but that ſhe beareth her on hand otherwiſe than ſhe meaneth; and ſhe hath ſince Eaſter the moſt part been beaten once in the week, or twice, and ſometimes twice in a day, and her head broken in two or three places. Wherefore, couſin, ſhe hath ſent to me by friar Newton in great counſel, and prayeth me that I would ſend to you a letter of her heavineſs, and pray you to be her good brother, as her truſt is in you." In ſpite of her anxiety to be married, Elizabeth Paſton did not ſucceed at this time, but ſhe was ſoon afterwards transferred from her paternal roof to the houſehold of the lady Pole. It was ſtill the cuſtom to ſend young ladies of family to the houſes of the great to learn manners, and it was not only a matter of pride and oſtentation to be thus ſurrounded by a numerous train, but the noble lady whom they ſerved did not diſdain to receive payment for their board as well as employing them in profitable work. In a memorandum of errands to London, written by Agnes Paſton on the 28th of January, 1457, one is a meſſage to "Elizabeth Paſton that ſhe muſt uſe herſelf to work readily, as other gentlewomen do, and ſomewhat to help herſelf therewith. Item, to pay the lady Pole twenty-ſix ſhillings and eightpence for her board." Margaret Paſton, the wife of John Paſton, juſt mentioned, and daughter-in-law of Agnes, ſeems

ſeems to have been equally ſtrict with her daughters. At the beginning of the reign of Edward IV., ſhe wrote to her ſon John concerning his ſiſter Anne, who had been placed in the houſe of a kinſman of the name of Calthorpe. "Since ye departed," ſhe ſays, "my couſin Calthorpe ſent me a letter complaining in his writing that foraſmuch as he cannot be paid of his tenants as he hath been before this time, he propoſeth to leſſen his houſehold, and to live the ſtraitlier, wherefore he deſireth me to purvey for your ſiſter Anne; he ſaith ſhe waxeth high (*grows tall*), and it were time to purvey her a marriage. I marvel what cauſeth him to write ſo now, either ſhe hath diſpleaſed him, or elſe he hath taken her with default; therefore I pray you commune with my couſin Clare at London, and weet (*learn*) how he is diſpoſed to her-ward, and ſend me word, for I ſhall be fain to ſend for her, and with me ſhe ſhall but loſe her time, and without ſhe will be the better occupied ſhe ſhall oftentimes move (*vex*) me and put me in great inquietneſs; remember what labour I had with your ſiſter, therefore do your part to help her forth, that may be to your worſhip and mine." There certainly appears here no great affection between mother and daughter.

Among other leſſons, the ladies appear to have been taught to be very demure and formal in their behaviour in company. Our cut No. 250 repreſents a party of ladies and gentlemen in the parlour engaged in converſation. It is taken from an illumination in the manuſcript of the romance of the "Comte d'Artois," formerly in the poſſeſſion of M. Barrois. They are all apparently ſeated on benches, which ſeem in this inſtance to be made like long cheſts, and placed along the ſides of the wall as if they ſerved alſo for lockers. Theſe appear to be the only articles of furniture in the room. There is a certain conventional poſition in moſt of the ladies of the party which has evidently been taught, even to the holding of the hands croſſed. The four ladies with the gentleman between them are no doubt intended to be the attendants on the lady of the houſe, holding towards her the poſition of Elizabeth and Anne Paſton. We have preciſely the ſame conventional forms in the next cut (No. 251), which is taken from an illumination in a manuſcript of the "Legenda Aurea," in the National Library in Paris (No. 6889). We ſee here the

ſame

ſame demureneſs and formal croſſing of the hands among the young ladies, in preſence of their dame. It may be obſerved that, in almoſt all

No. 250. *A Converſation Scene.*

the contemporary pictures of domeſtic ſcenes, the men, repreſented as viſitors, keep their hats on their heads.

No. 251. *A Social Group of the Fifteenth Century.*

One of the moſt curious features in the firſt of theſe ſcenes is that of the

the cages, eſpecially that of the ſquirrel, which is evidently made to turn round with the animal's motion, like ſquirrel-cages of the preſent day. We have now frequent alluſions to the keeping of birds in cages, and parrots, magpies, jays, and various ſinging birds, are often mentioned among domeſtic pets. During the earlier half of the century of which we are now more eſpecially ſpeaking, the poems of Lydgate furniſh us with ſeveral examples. Thus, in that entitled "The Chorle and the Bird," we are told—

> *The chorle* (countryman) *was gladde that he this birdde hadde take,*
> *Mery of chere, of looke, and of viſage,*
> *And in al haſte he caſt for to make*
> *Within his houſe a pratie litelle cage,*
> *And with hir ſonge to rejoiſe his corage.*

And in another of Lydgate's minor poems, it is ſaid of Spring,—

> *Whiche ſejoun prykethe* (stirs up) *freſſhe corages,*
> *Rejoiſſethe beaſtys walkyng in ther paſture,*
> *Cauſith briddys to ſyngen in ther cages,*
> *Whan blood renewyth in every creature.*

Among theſe, we find birds mentioned which are not now uſually kept in cages. Thus, in a manuſcript of the time of Edward IV., we find a receipt for food for that favourite bird of the mediæval poets, the nightingale.* Small animals of various kinds were alſo tamed and kept in the houſe, either looſe or in cages. The plot of ſome of the earlier fabliaux turns upon the practice of taming ſquirrels as pets, and keeping them in cages; and this animal continued long to be an eſpecial favourite, for its livelineſs and activity. In one of the compartments of the curious tapeſtry of Nancy, of the fifteenth century, which has been engraved by

* This receipt is curious enough to be given here; it is as follows:—"Fyrst, take and geve hym yelow antes, otherwyse called pysmerys, as nere as ye may, and the white ante or pysmers egges be best bothe wynter and somer, ij. tymes of the day an handful of bothe. Also, geve hym of these sowes that crepe with many fete, and falle oute of howce rovys. Also, geve hym whyte wormes that breede betwene the barke and the tre."—Reliquiæ Antiquæ, vol. i. p. 203.

M. Achille Jubinal, we ſee a lady with a tame ſquirrel in her hand, which ſhe holds by a ſtring, as repreſented in our cut No. 252.

The parlour was now the room where the domeſtic amuſements were introduced. The gueſt in the early tract on "Dyce Play," quoted in a former page, tells us, "and, after the table was removed, in came one of the waiters with a fair ſilver bowl, full of dice and cards. Now, maſters, quoth the goodman, who is ſo diſpoſed, fall too." Gambling was carried to a great height during the fifteenth century, and was ſeverely condemned by the moraliſts, but without much ſucceſs. Dice were the older implements of play, and tables (or backgammon). A religious poem on ſaints' days, in a manuſcript written about the year 1460, warning againſt idle amuſements, ſays—

No. 252. Lady and Squirrel.

Alſo uſe not to pley at the dice ne at the tablis,
Ne none maner gamys, uppon the holidais;
Uſe no tavernys where be jeſtis and fablis,
Syngyng of lewde balettes, rondelettes, or virolais.

After the middle of the fifteenth century, cards came into very general uſe; and at the beginning of the following century, there was ſuch a rage for card-playing, that an attempt was made early in the reign of Henry VIII. to reſtrict their uſe by law to the period of Chriſtmas. When, however, people ſat down to dinner at noon, and had no other occupation for the reſt of the day, they needed amuſement of ſome ſort to paſs the time; and a poet of the fifteenth century obſerves truly,—

A man may dryſe forthe the day that long tyme dwellis
With harpyng and pipyng, and other mery ſpellis,
With gle, and wyth game.

Such amuſements as theſe mentioned, with games of different kinds in which the ladies took part, and dancing, generally occupied the afternoon, from dinner to ſupper, the hour of which latter meal ſeems uſually to have

have been ſix o'clock. The favourite amuſement was dancing. A family party at the dance is repreſented in our cut No. 253, from M. Barrois' manuſcript of the "Comte d'Artois." The numerous dances which were now in vogue ſeem to have completely eclipſed the old carole, or round dance, and the latter word, which was a more general one, had diſplaced

No. 253. *A Dance.*

the former. The couple here on their legs are ſuppoſed to be performing one of the new and taſteful faſhionable dances, which were much more lively than thoſe of the earlier period; ſome of them were ſo much ſo as to ſcandaliſe greatly the ſage moraliſts of the time. The after-dinner amuſements were reſumed after ſupper; and a practice had now eſtabliſhed itſelf of prolonging the day's enjoyment to a late hour, and taking a ſecond, or, as it was called, a rere-ſupper (*arrière ſouper*), which was called the banquet in France, where the three great meals were now the dinner, the ſupper, and the banquet, and dinner appears to have been conſidered as the leaſt meal of the three. It was thus, probably, that, in courſe of time, dinner took the place of ſupper, and ſupper that of banquet.

We have a very curious illuſtration of the extravagant living at table of the latter half of the fifteenth century, in the curious allegorical tapeſtry long preſerved at Nancy, in Lorrain, and ſaid by tradition, probably with

with truth, to have been the ornament of the tent of Charles le Téméraire, duke of Burgundy, when he laid ſiege to Nancy in 1477, and was defeated and ſlain. It is of Flemiſh workmanſhip, and no doubt pictures the manners of the Burgundian nobles and gentry, but at that time the court of Burgundy was the model of the faſhionable life of weſtern Europe. It happens, curiouſly enough, that a few years later a rather obſcure French writer, named Nicole de La Cheſnaye, compiling one of thoſe allegorical dramas then ſo popular under the title of "Moralities," took the ſtory of this tapeſtry as his ſubject, and has thus left us the full explanation of what might otherwiſe have been not eaſily underſtood. The title of this morality is "La Nef de Santé" (the ſhip of health), and a ſecond title is "La condamnacion des bancquetz" (the condemnation of banquets); and its object is to ſhow the unhappy conſequences of the extravagance in eating and drinking, which then prevailed. It opens with a converſation between three allegorical perſonages named Dinner, Supper, and Banquet, who declare their intention to lead joyous life evening and morning, and they reſolve on imitating Paſſe-Temps (paſtime) and Bonne-Compagnie (good company). At this moment Bonne-Compagnie herſelf, who is deſcribed as a daſhing damſel (*gorrière damoiſelle*), enters with all her people, namely, Gourmandize (greedineſs), Friandize (daintineſs), Paſſe-Temps, already mentioned, Je-Boy-à-Vous (I drink to you), Je-Pleige-d'Autant (I pledge the ſame), and Acouſtumance (cuſtom). Each names what he prefers in good cheer, and Bonne-Compagnie, to begin the day, orders a collation, at which, among other things, are ſerved damſons (*prunes de Damas*), which appear at this time to have been conſidered as delicacies. There is here a marginal direction to the purport that, if the morality ſhould be performed in the ſeaſon when real damſons could not be had, the performers muſt have ſome made of wax to look like real ones. They now take their places at table, and, while they are eating, Je-Boy-à-Vous calls the attention of the company to the circumſtance that Gourmandize, in his haſte to eat the damſons, had ſwallowed a ſnail. Paſſe-Temps next propoſes a dance, and chooſes for his partner the lady Friandize, comparing her to Helen, and telling her that he was Paris. She, in reply, compares herſelf to Medea, and

and her partner to Jaſon. Then the muſicians, "placed on a ſtage or ſome higher place," are to play a meaſure "pretty ſhort." Dinner, Supper, and Banquet next make their appearance, and, addreſſing Bonne-Compagnie, make their apology for entering without being invited; but the lady receives them well, aſks their names, and, in return, tells them thoſe of her people. Dinner, to ſhow his gratitude for this friendly reception, invites the whole party to go to his feaſt, which is juſt ready;

No. 254. A Dinner Party in grand ceremony.

and Supper invites them to a ſecond repaſt, and Banquet to a third. They accept the invitation of Dinner, and are ſerved with *friture, brouet, potage, gros pâtés,* &c. Meanwhile Supper and Banquet look upon the party from "ſome high window," and converſe on the conſequences likely

likely to follow their exceſſes. This ſcene is repreſented in the firſt compartment of the tapeſtry, as it now exiſts (for it has undergone conſiderable mutilation), and is repreſented in our cut No. 254. It is a good picture of a ſeignorial repaſt of the fifteenth century. There are people at table, beſides thoſe enumerated in the morality, who are here indicated by their names: Paſſe-Temps at one end of the table, a lady to his left, and after her Je-Boy-à-Vous, who has Bonne-Compagnie by his ſide, and to her left Dinner, the hoſt. To the right of Paſſe-Temps ſits the lady Gourmandize, and to her right Je-Vous-Pleige (I pledge you), and next to him Friandize. The cups in which they are drinking are flat-ſhaped, and appear, by the colours in the original, to be of glaſs, with the brims, and other parts in ſome, gilt. The minſtrels, in the gallery, are playing with trumpets. Among the attendants, we ſee the court fool, with his bauble, who had now become an ordinary, and almoſt a neceſſary, perſonage in the houſehold of the rich; it was the reſult of an increaſing taſte for the coarſe buffoonery which characteriſed an unrefined ſtate of ſociety. The court fool was licenſed to utter with impunity whatever came to his thought, however mordant or however indecent. Beſide him are two valets with dogs, which appear to have been uſually admitted to the hall, and to have eaten the refuſe on the ſpot. A window above gives us a view of the country, with buildings in the diſtance, and Supper and Banquet looking in upon the company. An inſcription in the upper corner to the right tells us how theſe two perſonages came ſlyly to look at the aſſembly, and how through envy they conſpired to take vengeance upon the feaſters—

Soupper et Bancquet
Vindrent l'aſſemblée adviſer,
Dont par envie preſtement
Compindrent de viengence uſer.

The morality next introduces the Diſeaſes who are to be the executors of the vengeance of Supper and Banquet, and who, according to the ſtage directions, are to be dreſſed "very ſtrangely, ſo that you would hardly know whether they are women or men." Theſe are Apoplexy, Paralyſis, Pleuriſy, Cholic, Quinſy, Dropſy, Jaundice, Gravel, and Gout. At the end of this ſcene, Supper and Banquet addreſs themſelves to theſe people

people, and aſk them to undertake an aſſault on Bonne-Compagnie and the other gueſts of Dinner; and they conſent at once, and Supper places them in an ambuſcade in his dwelling. Meanwhile the feaſt ends, and Bonne-Compagnie ſays grace, and orders the player on the lute to perform his duty, whereupon "the inſtrument ſounds, and the three men ſhall lead out the three women, and ſhall dance whatever dance they pleaſe, while Bonne-Compagnie remains ſeated." Supper and Banquet then preſent themſelves in turn to invite Bonne-Compagnie and her people, and they go firſt to Supper, who receives them with extraordinary hoſpitality. But Supper was a wicked traitor; and the ſtage directions inform us that, while the gueſts were enjoying themſelves, his agents, the Diſeaſes, were to be introduced watching them through a window. As ſoon as the ſubſtantial viands are eaten, Supper goes to order what was called the *iſſue*, or deſſert; and in his abſence Bonne-Compagnie orders the minſtrels to play an air, and they obey. While the deſſert is preparing, Supper goes to the Diſeaſes, to aſk if they are ready, and they arm and attack the gueſts, overthrowing tables and benches, and treating everybody with great cruelty. After ſome other ſcenes, Banquet comes to announce that his feaſt is ready, condoles with the ſufferers on the treatment they had received from Supper, though he is meditating ſtill greater treachery himſelf, and they go and feaſt with him. The Diſeaſes, ready at his command, make a much more fatal attack upon the gueſts.

Banquet's feaſt forms the ſecond compartment of the tapeſtry of Nancy in its preſent ſtate, and is repreſented in our cut No. 255. When compared with the morality, it preſents ſome variations. In front, Banquet is ſtanding before the table, oppoſite to Je-Boy-à-Vous and Je-Pleige-d'Autant, and appears to be replying to Bonne-Compagnie, who is ſeated between Paſſe-Temps and Acouſtumance. Further to the left Banquet appears again, with his hand on his ſword, addreſſing the Diſeaſes, who are at the entrance of the hall, waiting for his ſignal for the attack. At the lower corner on the left we ſee Supper, talking with another important perſonage, probably intended to repreſent Dinner. Above, to the right, through a window, we ſee Banquet again, with one of his attendants faſtening on his armour, while another holds his caſque, which

No. 255. *A Banquet in the Fifteenth Century.*

which he has not yet placed on his head. The firſt of the inſcriptions in this compartment of the tapeſtry, which is on the left, tells how, while the gueſts are feaſting in all jollity, Banquet and his rout arm and come to ſlaughter the whole aſſembly—

Chiere ilz tyrent joyeuſement,
Y eſtant Bancquet et la route
Qui ſ'armerent et là proprement
Occirent l'aſſemblée toute.

The ſecond inſcription conſiſts of eight lines moralizing on the final ruin which often falls on thoſe who make enjoyment the buſineſs of their lives :—

Les trois folz ont grant volonté
De cherche[r] leur malle meſchance ;
Quant on a bien ris et chanté,
A la fin fault tourner la chance.
Ha ! vous vellez avoir plaiſance !
Bien l'auré vous ung tandis ;
Mis gens quy prenent leur aiſence,
En fin ſe treuvent plus mauldis.

It is remarkable that theſe eight lines, taken from the tapeſtry, are introduced into the morality, and placed in the mouth of the fool at the end of the firſt ſcene.

It will be remarked at once that there is a much greater diſplay of luxury in the banquet ſcene than in the dinner ſcene. Upon the table are two peacocks, each with a ſhield hung to its neck, no doubt to ſhow the armorial bearings of the hoſt; a boar's head, dreſſed in the moſt faſhionable manner; a ſubtelty, repreſenting a ſhip filled with birds, ſurrounded by a ſea full of fiſhes, and having a tall maſt, with a ſail made of ſilk and ermine, and ſurmounted by a figure of a naked female, intended probably to repreſent the goddeſs Venus. There are alſo on the table four candles, of coloured wax. A noble dreſſer ſtands againſt the wall, covered with veſſels of gold and of glaſs, but the metal far predominates. The minſtrels are ſtanding apparently on the floor on a level with the gueſts, and conſiſt of a man playing on the cittern, or lute, a harper, and one who plays on the pipe and drum, the latter

inſtrument a ſubſtitute for the tabor. The valets with the dogs are again introduced, but we miſs the court fool.

The remaining portions of the tapeſtry repreſent the attack of the Diſeaſes, and the great havoc they made among the gueſts.

The banquet was known in England by that name, as well as by the name of rere-ſupper. In the curious Engliſh morality play, entitled "The Interlude of the Four Elements," printed early in the ſixteenth century, the ſame diſtinction is made between the three meals as in the French morality deſcribed above. Senſual-appetite, one of the characters in the piece, leads Humanity to the tavern to dine, and orders a dinner of three courſes, with a choice variety of wines. As they are leaving after dinner, the taverner reminds them that they were to return to ſupper; and then Humanity propoſes a cup of "new" wine, as though wine was then valued for being new. Food and liquor were formerly adulterated in more diſhoneſt manner even than in modern times, and the taverner anſwers the demand jokingly—

Ye ſhall have wyne as newe as can be,
For I may tell you in prywyté
Hit was brued but yeſter nyght.

But he immediately adds—

But than I have for your apetyte
A cup of wyne of olde claret;
There is no better, by this lyght.

After ſupper they go to dance, and meanwhile Senſual-appetite goes to prepare the banquet:—

I ſhall at the towne agayne
Prepare for you a banket,
Of metys that be moſt delycate,
And moſt pleaſaunt drynkes and wynes therate,
That is poſſyble to get.
Which ſhall be in a chamber feyre
Preparyd poynt devyſe (in perfection),
With damaſke water made ſo well
That all the howſe thereof ſhall ſmell
As it were Paradyſe.

In

In "Acolaſtus," a work by the grammarian Palſgrave, publiſhed in 1540, the banquet is ſtill identified with the rere-ſupper, when he ſpeaks of "the rere-ſupper, or banket, where men ſyt downe to drynke and eate agayne after their meate." And again, ſtill later, Higins, in his "Nomenclator," publiſhed in 1585, explains the Latin word *pocœnium* by "a reare-ſupper, or a banket after ſupper." The term rere-ſupper was in uſe throughout the fifteenth century. An Engliſh vocabulary of that century ſpeaks of a meal between dinner and ſupper, under the name of "a myd-dyner under-mete," the ſame which, no doubt, was called by a French word, a *bever*, as conſiſting eſpecially in taking a drink, and which, removed to the time between breakfaſt and dinner, is now called a luncheon.

In the introduction to Lydgate's "Story of Thebes," which is introduced as a continuation of the "Canterbury Tales," the poet pretends to have arrived at the inn in Canterbury when it was occupied by the pilgrims, who invite him to ſup with them, and he joins their company. "Our hoſt," who is the leader of the pilgrims, offers him his place at their ſupper heartily:

> *Praying you* (he says) *to ſuppe with us this night,*
> *And ye ſhall have made, at your devis,*
> *A great pudding, or a round hagis,*
> *A French moile, a tanſie, or a froiſe.*

Theſe appear to have been the uſual favourite diſhes at an ordinary ſupper of this date (the firſt half of the fifteenth century). The *hagis* appears to have been much the ſame diſh as the Scottiſh haggis of the preſent day. The *moile* was a diſh made of marrow and grated bread. The *tanſie* was a kind of omelet, reſembling apparently what the French now call an *omelette aux fines herbes;* while the *froiſe* had ſmall ſtrips of bacon in it—an *omelette au lard.* This latter was a very favourite diſh among the monks. After ſupper, the gueſts, or at leaſt ſome of them, are repreſented as taking "ſtrong nottie ale" before going to bed. They riſe early, "anon as it is day," and ſtart on their return towards London; and they take no meal before dinner, having it

> *Fully in purpoſe to come to dinere*
> *Unto Oſpring, and breake there our faſt.*

There

There is a longer preface to the ſupplementary tale of "Beryn," written about the ſame date as the "Story of Thebes," and printed in the edition of Chaucer's works by Urry, in which the diviſions of the day are tolerably well deſcribed. The pilgrims there arrived at their deſtination in Canterbury "at mydmorowe," which is interpreted in the gloſſaries as meaning nine o'clock in the forenoon, and then took their lodgings, "ordeyned" their dinner, and, while it was preparing, went to make their offerings to the ſhrine of St. Thomas in the cathedral church. Meanwhile the Pardoner had ſeparated from the company, and engaged in a low intrigue with the "tapſter," or barmaid, who offers him a drink, but he tells her he had not yet broken his faſt—we are to conclude that this was the caſe with the reſt of the company—and

She ſtart into the town, and ſet a py al hote.

Meat pies appear to have been very common articles of food in the middle ages, and to have been kept always ready at the cooks' ſhops. The offering ſeems to have taken but a ſmall ſpace of time, and then—

They ſet their ſignys upon their hedes, and ſom oppon their capp,
And ſith to the dyner-ward they gan for to ſtapp (step);
Every man in his degré wiſſh (waſhed) *and toke his ſete,*
As they wer wont to doon at ſoper and at mete;
And wer in ſilence for a tyme, tyl good ale gan ariſe.

It appears, therefore, that people did not hold converſation while eating, but that the talk and mirth began with the liquor, whether ale or wine. It was then agreed that they ſhould remain that day in Canterbury, and all ſup together at night—

"*Then al this after-mete I hold it for the beſt*
To ſport and pley us," *quod the hooſt,* "*ech man as hym leſt* (likes),
And go by tyme to ſoper, and to bed alſo,
So mowe we erly ryſen, our jorney for to do.

Accordingly they all walk forth into the city, where the knight, who with his ſon had put on freſh gowns, took the latter to the town walls to explain to him their ſtrength, and the character of the defences; and as many of the reſt as had changes of apparel with them imitated their example,

example, and they ſeparated in parties, according to their different taſtes. The monk, the parſon, and the friar, went to viſit ſome clerical acquaintance, and indulged in ſpiced wine. The ladies remained at home:—

The wyfe of Bath was ſo wery, ſhe had no wyl to walk;
She toke the priores by the honde, "Madam, wol ye ſtalk
Pryvely into the garden to ſe the herbis growe?
And after with our hoſtis wife in her parlour rowe (talk)*?*
I wol gyve yowe the wyne, and ye ſhul me alſo;
For tyl we go to ſoper we have naught ellis to do."

The prioreſs aſſents to this propoſal—

—— *and forth gon they wend,*
Paſſing forth ſoffily into the herbery;
For many a herb grew for ſewe (pottage) *and ſurgery;*
And all the aleys fair and parid, and raylid, and ymakid;
The ſauge and the iſope yfrethid and iſtakid;
And othir beddis by and by freſh ydight,
For comers to the hooſte right a ſportful ſight.

When the gueſts reaſſembled, they agreed that the knight ſhould be their "marſhall" of the table, and he ordered them all to waſh, and then appointed them to their ſeats, that they might be properly ſeated together, for this was part of his duty. They thus ſat two and two, each couple, no doubt, at one diſh—

They wiſſh (washed), *and ſett right as he bad, eche man wyth his fere,*
And begonne to talk of ſportis and of chere
That they had the aftir-mete whiles they wer out;
For othir occupacioune, tyll they wer ſervid about,
They had not at that tyme, but eny man kitt (cut) *a loff.*

Thus it would appear that nothing eatable was as yet placed on the table but bread. Preſently, the ſupper was ſerved round to them, of which there was only one "ſervice," out of courteſy on the part of the rich members of the company towards thoſe who were poor, as there was to be an equal diviſion of the expenſes of the ſupper. In return, the higheſt places of the table were yielded to the perſons of beſt eſtate, and theſe, as an acknowledgment, gave a cup of wine round at their own expenſe, and

and then left the table to retire to their beds. But the leſs genteel of the company, the miller and the cook, with the ſompnour, the yeoman, the reeve, and the manciple, remained "drinking by the moon,"—that is, they had no candle. There was, however, one candle in the bedroom, which ſeems to have ſerved to light the whole company,—for it is evident that they all ſlept in beds in one room,—and this candle was only put out when they were all gone to bed, which was the moment the Pardoner awaited to ſteal away and purſue his intrigue. Next morning they were out of their beds ſo early that they left the town on their homeward journey at ſunriſe.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CHAMBER AND ITS FURNITURE AND USES.—BEDS.—HUTCHES AND COFFERS.—THE TOILETTE; MIRRORS.

THE chambers were now, except in ſmaller houſes, moſtly above the ground-floor; and, as I have already obſerved, the privacy of the chamber was much greater than formerly. In the poem of "Lady Beſſy," quoted in a former chapter (the whole poem is given in Mr. Halliwell's privately printed "Palatine Anthology"), when the earl of Derby was plotting with the lady Beſſy for calling in the earl of Richmond, he propoſed to repair ſecretly to her in her chamber, in order to prepare the letters:—

"We muſt depart (separate), *lady,"* *the earle ſaid then;*
"Wherefore keep this matter ſecretly,
And this ſame night, betwixe nine and ten,
In your chamber I think to be.
Look that you make all things ready,
Your maids ſhall not our councell hear,
For I will bring no man with me
But Humphrey Brereton, my true eſquire."
He took his leave of that lady fair,
And to her chamber ſhe went full light,
And for all things ſhe did prepare,
Both pen and ink, and paper white.

The earl, on his part,—

——unto his ſtudy went,
Forecaſting with all his might
To bring to paſs all his intent;
He took no reſt till it was night,
And when the ſtars ſhone fair and bright,
He him diſguiſed in ſtrange mannere;

He

He went unknown of any wight,
No more with him but his eſquire.
And when he came her chamber near,
Full privily there can he ſtand;
To cauſe the lady to appeare
He made a ſign with his right hand.
And when the lady there him wiſt,
She was as glad as ſhe might be;
Charcoals in chimneys there were caſt,
Candles on ſticks ſtanding full high.
She opened the wickett, and let him in,
And ſaid, "Welcome, lord and knight ſoe free!"
A rich chair was ſet for him,
And another for that fair lady;
They ate the ſpice, and drank the wine,
He had all things at his intent.

The deſcription given in theſe lines agrees perfectly with the repreſentations of chambers in the illuminated manuſcripts of the latter part

No. 256. *Interior of the Chamber.*

of the fifteenth century, when the ſuperior artiſtic ſkill of the illuminators enabled

enabled them to draw interiors with more of detail than in former periods. We have almoſt invariably the chimney, and one "rich chair," if not more. In our cut No. 256, we have a ſettle in the chamber, which is turned to the fire. This picture is taken from a manuſcript of the early French tranſlation of Joſephus, in the National Library in Paris (No. 7015), and repreſents the death of the emperor Nero, as deſcribed by that writer. All the furniture of this chamber is of a ſuperior deſcription.

No. 257. The Nurſing Chamber.

The large chair by the bed-ſide is of very elegant deſign; and the ſettle, which is open at the back, is ornamented with carved panels. Our next cut (No. 257), taken from a manuſcript of Lydgate's metrical Life of St. Edmund (MS. Harl. No. 2278), repreſents the birth of that ſaint.

This room is more elaborately furniſhed than the former. The fittings of the bed are richer; the chimney is more ornamental in its character, and is curious as having three little receſſes for holding candleſticks, cups, and other articles; and we have a well-ſupplied cupboard, though of ſimple form. From the colours in the manuſcript, all the veſſels appear to be of gold, or of ſilver-gilt. The ſeat before the fire in this cut (No. 257) ſeems to be the hutch, or cheſt, which in Nos. 261 and 262 we ſhall ſee placed at the foot of the bed, from which it is here moved to ſerve the occaſion.

The lady ſeated on this cheſt appears to be wrapping up the new-born infant in ſwaddling-clothes; a cuſtom which, as I have remarked on a former occaſion, and as we ſhall ſee again further on, prevailed univerſally till a comparatively recent period. Infants thus wrapped up are frequently ſeen in the illuminated manuſcripts; and their appearance is certainly anything but pictureſque. We have an exception in one of the

No. 258. A Cradle.

ſculptures on the columns of the Hôtel de Ville at Bruſſels (repreſented in our cut No. 258), which alſo furniſhes us with a curious example of a cradle of the latter part of the fifteenth century.

It will, no doubt, have been remarked that in theſe cuts we obſerve no traces of carpets on the floor. In our cut No. 256, the floor is evidently boarded; but more generally, as in our cuts Nos. 257, 260, and 261, it appears

appears chequered, or laid out in ſmall ſquares, which may be intended to repreſent tiles, or perhaps parquetry. There is more evidence of tapeſtried or painted walls; although this kind of ornamentation is only uſed partially, and chiefly in the dwellings of the richer claſſes. The walls in the chamber in cut No. 257 appear to be painted. In the ſame cut we have an example of an ornamental mat.

The moſt important article of furniture in the chamber was the bed, which began now to be made much more ornamental than in previous times. We have ſeen in the former period the introduction of the canopy and its curtains, under which the head of the bed was placed. The *celure*, or roof, of the canopy, was now often enlarged, ſo as to extend over the whole bed; and it, as well as the *teſter*, or back, was often adorned with the arms of the poſſeſſor, with religious emblems, with flowers, or with ſome other ornament. There were alſo ſometimes *coſters*, or ornamental cloths for the ſides of the bed. The curtains, ſometimes called by the French word *ridels*, were attached edgeways to the teſter, and were ſuſpended ſometimes by rings, ſo as to draw backwards and forwards along a pole; but more frequently, to judge by the illuminations, they were fixed to the celure in the ſame manner as to the teſter, and were drawn up with cords. At the two corners of the celure portions of curtain were left hanging down like bags. The curtains which draw up are repreſented in our cuts Nos. 259 and 260. Thoſe in cuts Nos. 261 and 262, if not in Nos. 256 and 257, are evidently drawn along poles with rings. The latter method is thus alluded to in the old metrical romance of "Sir Degrevant:"—

That was a mervelle thynge,
To ſe the riddels hynge,
With many red golde rynge
That thame up bare.

The celure and teſter were fixed to the wall and ceiling of the apartment, and were not in any way attached to the bed itſelf; for the large four-poſt bedſteads were introduced in the ſixteenth century. In ſome illuminations the bed is ſeen placed within a ſquare compartment ſeparated from the room by curtains which ſeem to be ſuſpended from the roof.

roof. This appears to have been the firſt ſtep towards the more modern four-poſt bedſteads. In one of the plates to D'Agincourt's "Hiſtoire de l'Art" (Peinture, pl. 109), taken from a Greek freſco of the twelfth or thirteenth century in a church at Florence, we have the curtains arranged thus in a ſquare tent in the room, where the cords are not ſuſpended from the roof, but ſupported by four corner-poſts. The bed is placed within, totally detached from the ſurrounding poſts and curtains. The ſpace thus left between the bed and the curtains was perhaps what was originally called in French the *ruelle* (literally, the "little ſtreet") of the bed, a term which was afterwards given to the ſpace between the curtains of the bed and the wall, which held rather an important place in old French chamber life, and eſpecially in the ſtories of chamber intrigue.

The bedſtead itſelf was ſtill a very ſimple ſtructure of wood, as ſhown in our cut No. 259, which repreſents the bed of a counteſs. It is taken

No. 259. A Bed of the Fifteenth Century.

from the manuſcript of the romance of the "Comte d'Artois," which has already furniſhed ſubjects for our previous chapters on the manners of the fifteenth century. The lady's footſtool is no leſs rude than the bedſtead. The bed here evidently conſiſts of a hard mattreſs. It was ſtill often made of ſtraw, and the bed is ſpoken of in the gloſſaries as placed upon a

ſtramentum,

ſtramentum, which is interpreted by the Engliſh word "litter;" but feather-beds were certainly in general uſe during the whole of the fifteenth century. In the latter part of the fourteenth century, Chaucer (Dreme, v. 250) thus deſcribed a very rich bed:—

Of downe of pure dovis white
I wol yeve him a fethir bed,
Rayid with gold, and right well cled
In fine blacke ſattin d'outremere,
And many a pilowe, and every bere (pillow cover)
Of clothe of Raines to ſlepe on ſofte;
Him thare (need) *not to turnen ofte.*

Agnes Hubbard, a lady of Bury, in Suffolk, who made her will in 1418, left among other things, "one feather-bed" (*unum lectum de plumis*). A rich townſman of the ſame place bequeathed, in 1463, to his niece, "certeyne ſtuffe of oſtilment," among which he enumerates "my grene hanggyd bedde ſteynyd with my armys therin, that hanggith in the chambyr ovir kechene, with the curtynez, the grene keveryng longgyng therto; another coverlyte, ij. blanketts, ij. peyre of good ſhetes, the trampſoun, the coſterys of that chambyr and of the drawgth chambyr next, tho that be of the ſame ſoort, a grete pilve (*pillow*) and a ſmal pilve; the fethirbeed is hire owne that hire maiſtreſſe gaf hire at London." After enumerating other articles of different kinds, the teſtator proceeds—"And I geve hire the ſelour and the ſteynyd clooth of the coronacion of Our Lady, with the clothes of myn that long to the bedde that ſhe hath loyen (*lain*) in, and the beddyng in the draught chamber for hire ſervaunth to lyn in; and a banker of grene and red lying in hire chambyr with the longe chayer (*a ſettle, probably*); and a ſtondyng coffre and a long coffre in the drawth chambyr." William Honyboorn, alſo of Bury, bequeathed to his wife in 1493, "my beſt ffether bedde with the traunſome, a whyte ſelour and a teſtour theron, with iij. white curteyns therto, a coverlight white and blewe lyeng on the ſame bedde, with the blankettes." The ſame man leaves to his daughter, "a ffether bedde next the beſt, a materas lyeng under the ſame, iiij. peyr ſhetys, iij. pelowes, a peyr blankettes." John Coote, who made his will at Bury in 1502, left to his wife, for term of her life, "alle my plate, braſſe, pewter, hanggynges, celers,

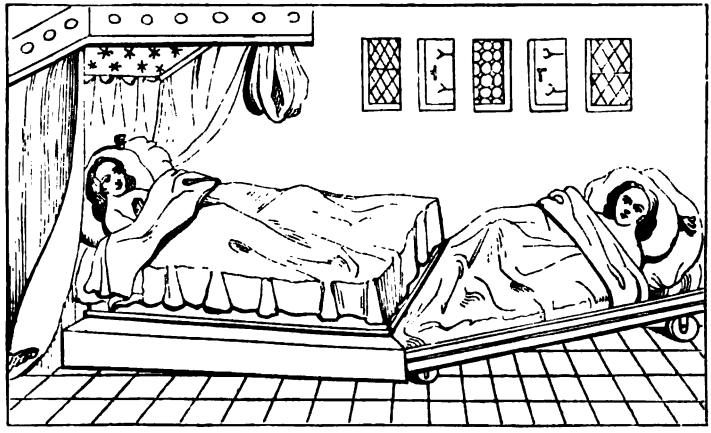
celers, teſters, fetherbeddes, traunſoms, coverlytes, blankettes, ſhetes, pelows, and all other ſtuff of huſſold (*houſehold*);" and afterwards bequeaths theſe articles ſeparately to his ſon and daughter, after their mother's death:—"I will that William Coote have my beſte hanged bede, celer, teſtor, and curteyns longgyng to the ſame, the beſte fetherbede, the beſte coverlyght, the beſte peyer of blankettes, the beſte peyer ſhetes; and Alys Coote to have the next hanged bede, celer, and teſtour, wyth the ij^{de} fetherbede, blankettes, and the ij^{de} peyer ſhetes." In the will of Anne Barett, of Bury, dated in 1504, we read, "Item, I bequeth to Avyſe *my ſervaunte* x. marc, a ffether bed, a traunſom, a payre ſhetes, a payre blankettes, a coverlyght." Laſtly, the will of Agar Herte, a widow of the ſame town, made in 1522, contains the following items:—"Item, I bequethe to Richard Jaxſon, my ſon, a ffetherbed, ij. trawnſoms, a matras, ij. pelowes, iiij. payer of ſchetes, a payer of blankettes, and a coveryng of araſſe, and a ſecunde coverlyght, a ſelour and a teſtour ſteynyd with fflowers, and iij. curteyns;" . . . "Item, I bequethe to Jone Jaxſon, my dowghter, a fetherbed, a matras, a bolſter, ij. pelowes, iiij. payer of ſchetes, a payer of blankettes, a coverlyght with fflowre de lyce, a ſelour and a teſtour ſteynyd with Seynt Kateryn at the hed and the cruſifix on the ſelour, . . . a ſecunde coverlyght, ij. pelow-beris (*pillow-covers*), the ſteynyd clothes abowte the chamber where I ly;" . . . "Item, I bequethe to Fraunces Wrethe a ffetherbed, a bolſter, a payer of blankettes, my beſt carpet, a new coverlyght with fflowers, ij. payer of ſchetes, ij. pelows with the berys."

Theſe extracts from only one ſet of wills are ſufficient to ſhow the great advance which our forefathers had made during the fourteenth century in the comfort and richneſs of their beds, and how cautious we ought to be in receiving general obſervations on the condition of previous ages by thoſe who write at a ſubſequent period. I make this obſervation in alluſion to the account ſo often quoted from Harriſon, who, in the deſcription of England written in Eſſex during the reign of Elizabeth, and inſerted in Holinſhed's "Chronicles," informs us that "our fathers (yea, and we our ſelves alſo) have lien full oft upon ſtraw pallets, on rough mats, covered onelie with a ſheet, under coverlets made of dag-

ſwain,

ſwain,* or hopharlots (I uſe their owne termes), and a good round log under their heads inſtead of a bolſter. If it were ſo that our fathers, or the good-man of the houſe, had, within ſeven years after his mariage, purchaſed a matteres, or flocke bed, and thereto a ſacke of chaffe to reſte his heade upon, he thought himſelfe to be as well lodged as the lord of the towne, ſo well were they contented. Pillowes, ſaid they, were thought meete onelie for women in child-bed. As for ſervants, if they had anie ſheet above them it was well, for ſeldom had they anie under their bodies to keepe them from the pricking ſtraws that ran oft through the canvas of the pallet, and raſed their hardened hides." A deſcription like this could only apply to the lower claſſes in ſociety, who had as yet participated but little in the march of ſocial improvement.

As the privacy of the chamber had become greater, it ſeems now to have been much leſs common in private manſions for ſeveral people to ſleep



No. 260. A Truckle-bed.

in the ſame room, which appears more rarely to have had more than one

* Dagswain was a sort of rough material of which the commoner sort of coverlets were made. A hap-harlot or hop-harlot, was also a very coarse kind of coverlet. Harlot was the term applied to a low class of vagabonds, the ribalds, who wandered from place to place in search of a living; and the name appears to have been given to this rug as being only fit to be the lot or hap of such people.

bed.

bed. But a bed of a new conſtruction had now come into uſe, called a truckle or trundle bed. This was a ſmaller bed which rolled under the larger bed, and was deſigned uſually for a valet, or ſervant. The illuminations in the manuſcript of the romance of the "Comte d'Artois," already quoted more than once, furniſh us with the early example of a truckle-bed repreſented in our cut No. 260. The count d'Artois lies in the bed under the canopy, while the truckle-bed is occupied by his valet (in this caſe, his wife in diſguiſe). The truckle-bed is more frequently mentioned in the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries. Every reader will remember the ſpeech of mine hoſt of the Garter, in the "Merry Wives of Windſor" (act iv. ſc. 5), who ſays of Falſtaff's room, "There's his chamber, his houſe, his caſtle, his ſtanding bed and truckle-bed." It was the place allotted to the ſquire, when accompanying the knight on "adventures." So in Hudibras (part ii. canto ii.)—

When Hudibras, whom thoughts and aking
'Twixt ſleeping kept all night and waking,
Began to rub his drowſy eyes,
And from his couch prepared to riſe,
Reſolving to diſpatch the deed
He vow'd to do, with truſty ſpeed;
But firſt, with knocking loud and bawling,
He rouſed the ſquire, in truckle lolling.

In the Engliſh univerſities, the maſter-of-arts had his pupil to ſleep in his truckle-bed.

The chamber, as the moſt private part of the houſe, was ſtored with cheſts and coffers, in which the perſon who occupied it kept his money, his deeds and private papers, and his other valuables. Margaret Paſton, writing from Norwich to her huſband about the year 1459, gives a curious account of the preparations for his reception at home. "I have," ſhe ſays, "taken the meaſure in the drawte chamber, there as ye would your coffers and your cowntewery (*ſuppoſed to mean a deſk for writing*) ſhould be ſet for the while, and there is no ſpace beſide the bed, though the bed were removed to the door, for to ſet both your board (*table*) and your coffers there, and to have ſpace to go and ſit beſide; wherefore I have purveyed that ye ſhall have the ſame drawte chamber (*withdrawing room—*

the

the origin of our name of drawing-room for the ſalon) that ye had before, thereat ye ſhall lye to yourſelf; and when your gear is removed out of your little houſe, the door ſhall be locked, and your bags laid in one of the great coffers, ſo that they ſhall be ſafe, I truſt." The hucches (*hutches*) or cheſts, and coffers, in the bed-chamber, are frequently mentioned in old writings. The large hutch ſeems to have been uſually placed at the foot of the bed. In one of our preceding cuts (No. 257) we have ſeen it moved from its place to make a temporary ſeat before the fire. The cut annexed (No. 261), taken from a manuſcript Latin

No. 261. *A Bedroom Scene.*

Bible in the National Library in Paris (No. 6829), ſhows us the hutch in its uſual place, and opened ſo as to expoſe its contents to our view. It is here evidently filled with money, and the perſons who have entered the chamber ſeem to be plundering it. In a very popular old ſtory, the ſame in ſubſtance as that of Macbeth and his daughters, an old man, on the marriage of his daughter, weakly gives up all his property to the young married pair, truſting to their filial love for his ſuſtenance, and

they go on treating him worſe and worſe, until he is ſaved from actual deſtitution by a deception he practiſes upon them. In one verſion of the ſtory, given in Engliſh verſe in a manuſcript of the fifteenth century, the father goes to a friend and borrows a large ſum of money in gold, which he places in his coffer, and, having invited them to his dwelling, and perſuaded them to remain all night, he contrives that early in the morning they ſhall, as by accident, eſpy him counting his gold. The unfilial children, who ſuppoſed that he had given them all he poſſeſſed, were aſtoniſhed to find him ſtill rich, and were induced, by their covetouſneſs, to treat him better during the reſt of his life. The poem deſcribes the old man leaving his bed to count the gold in his cheſt:—

But on the morow, at brode daylight,
The fadir ros, and, for they ſholden here
What that he dide in a boiſtous manere,
Unto his cheſt, which thre lokkes hadde,
He went, and therat wrethed he ful ſadde,
And whan it was opened and unſpit,
The hegged gold bi the merchaunt kym lent
He hath untied, and ſtreight forth with it
Unto his beddis feete gone is and went,
What doth thanne this ſel man and prudent
But out the gold on a tapit hath ſhet,
That in the hagges left ther no grot.—MS. Harl. 372, fol. 88, v°.

Robbers, or plunderers in time of war, when breaking into a houſe, always made direct for the chamber. Among the letters of the Paſton family, is a paper by a retainer of ſir John Faſtolf, who had a houſe in Southwark, giving an account of his ſufferings during the attack upon London by Jack Cade and the commons of Kent in 1450, in which he tells how "the captain (Cade) ſent certain of his meny to my chamber in your rents, and there broke up my cheſt, and took away one obligation of mine that was due unto me of 36*l.* by a prieſt of Paul's and one other obligation of one Knight of 10*l.*, and my purſe with five rings of gold, and 17*s.* 6*d.* of gold and ſilver; and one harneſs (*ſuit of armour*) complete of the touch of Milan; and one gown of fine perſe blue, furred with martens; and two gowns, one furred with bogey (*budge*), and one other lined with frieze." One of John Paſton's correſpondents, writing from

from London on the 28th of October, 1455, gives the following ſtill more pertinent account of the robbing of a man's houſe :—"Alſo there is great variance between the earl of Devonſhire and the lord Bonvile, as hath been many day, and much debate is like to grow thereby; for on Thurſday at night laſt paſt, the earl of Devonſhire's ſon and heir came, with ſixty men of arms, to Radford's place in Devonſhire, which (Radford) was of counſel with my lord Bonvile; and they ſet a houſe on fire at Radford's gate, and cried and made a noiſe as though they had been ſorry for the fire; and by thet cauſe Radford's men ſet open the gates and yede (*went*) out to ſee the fire; and forthwith the earl's ſon aforeſaid entered into the place, and entreated Radford to come down of his chamber to ſpeak with them, promiſing him that he ſhould no bodily harm have; upon which promiſe he came down, and ſpoke with the ſaid earl's ſon. In the mean time his meny (*retinue*) rob his chamber, and rifled his hutches, and truſſed ſuch as they could get together, and carried it away on his own horſes." As ſoon as this was done, Radford, who was an eminent lawyer reſiding at Poghill, near Kyrton, and now aged, was led forth and brutally murdered. In the ſtories and novels of the middle ages, the favoured lover who has been admitted ſecretly into the chamber of his miſtreſs is often concealed in the hutch or cheſt.

No. 262. A Lady in Bed.

Our cut No. 262, taken from the ſame manuſcript of the Bible which furniſhed our laſt illuſtration, repreſents the hutch alſo in its place at the foot of the bed. This ſketch is intereſting, both as ſhowing more diſtinctly than the others the rings of the bed-curtains, and the rods attached to the celure, and as a particularly good illuſtration of the habit which ſtill continued in all claſſes and ranks of ſociety, of ſleeping in bed entirely naked. The ſame practice is ſhown in ſeveral of our other cuts (ſee Nos. 256, 260,

260, and 261), and, indeed, in all the illuminated manuſcripts of the fifteenth century which contain bedroom ſcenes. Wherever this is not the caſe, there is ſome evident reaſon for the contrary, as in our cut No. 257. During this period we have not ſo many pictorial illuſtrations of the toilet as might be expected. The ladies' combs were generally coarſe and large in the teeth, but often very elaborately and beautifully ornamented. The mirror was, as at former periods, merely a circular piece of metal or glaſs, ſet in a caſe, which was carved with figures or ornaments externally. The vocabularies mention the mirror as one of the uſual objects with which a chamber ſhould be furniſhed.

Our cut No. 263 is taken from a manuſcript (MS. Cotton. Tiberius, A. vii. fol. 93, r°) of the Engliſh tranſlation of the ſingular work of the

No. 263. A Dealer in Mercery.

French writer, Guillaume de Deguilleville, entitled "Le Pélerinage de la Vie Humaine," a poem which bears a ſtriking reſemblance in its general character to the "Pilgrim's Progreſs" of Bunyan. The Engliſh verſion, which is in verſe, and entitled ſimply the "Pilgrim," has been aſcribed to Lydgate. In the courſe of his adventures, the pilgrim comes to the lady Agyographe, who is repreſented as dealing in "mercerye," but the enumeration of articles embraced under that term is rather ſingular:—

Quod

Quod ſche, "*Geve* (if) *I ſchal the telle,*
Mercerye I have to ſelle;
In boyſtes (boxes) *ſoote* (sweet) *oynementis,*
Therewith to don allegementis (to give relief)
To ffolkes whiche be not glade,
But diſcorded and mallade,
And hurte with perturbacyouns
Off many trybulacyouns.
I have knyves, phylletys, callys,
At ffeeſtes to hang upon wallys;
Kombes mo than nyne or ten,
Bothe ffor horſe and eke ffor men;
Merours alſo, large and brode,
And ffor the fyght wonder gode;
Off hem I have fful greet plenté,
For ffolke that haven volunté
Byholde hemſilffe therynne."

Our cut repreſents the interior of the houſe of the lady mercer, with the various articles enumerated in the text; the boxes of ointment, the horſe-combs, the men's combs, and the mirrors. She firſt offers the pilgrim a mirror, made ſo as to flatter people, by repreſenting them handſomer than they really were, which the pilgrim refuſes:—

"*Madame,*" *quod I,* "*yow not diſpleeſe,*
This myroure ſchal do me noon eeſe;
Wherſo that I leeſe or wynne,
I wole nevere looke thereinne."
But ryght anoon myne happe it was
To loken in another glaſſe,
In the whiche withouten wene (without doubt)
I ſawe myſylff ffoule and uncleene,
And to byholde ryght hydous,
Abhomynabel, and vecyous.
That merour and that glas
Schewyd (showed) *to me what I was.*

In the celebrated "Romance of the Roſe," one of the heroines, Belacueil, is introduced, adorning her head with a fillet, and with this head-dreſs contemplating herſelf in a mirror:—

Belacueil ſouvent ſe remire,
Dedans ſon miroer ſe mire,
Savoir ſ'il eſt ſi bien ſeans.

There

There is a repreſentation of this ſcene in the beautiful illuminated manuſcript of the "Romance of the Roſe" in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Harl. No. 4425), in which, ſingularly enough, the mirror itſelf, which is evidently of glaſs, is repreſented as being convex, though perhaps we muſt attribute this appearance to the unſkilfulneſs of the deſigner, who in his attempt to ſhow that the mirror was round, failed in perſpective. In our firſt cut, from Guillaume de Deguilleville, it will be obſerved that the artiſt, in order to ſhow that the articles intended to be repreſented are mirrors, and not plates, or any other round implements, has drawn the reflections of faces, although nobody is looking into them. Another peculiarity in the illumination of the "Romance of the Roſe," a portion of which is repreſented in our cut No. 264, is that the mirror is fixed againſt the wall, inſtead of being held in the hand when uſed, as appears to have been more generally the caſe. Standing-mirrors ſeem not to have been yet in uſe; but before the end of the fifteenth century, glaſs mirrors, which appear to have been invented in Belgium or Germany, came into uſe.

No. 264. Lady and Mirror.

CHAPTER XX.

STATE OF SOCIETY.—THE FEMALE CHARACTER.—GREEDINESS IN EATING.—CHARACTER OF THE MEDIÆVAL SERVANTS.—DAILY OCCUPATIONS IN THE HOUSEHOLD: SPINNING AND WEAVING; PAINTING.—THE GARDEN AND ITS USES.—GAMES OUT OF DOORS; HAWKING, ETC.—TRAVELLING, AND MORE FREQUENT USE OF CARRIAGES.—TAVERNS; FREQUENTED BY WOMEN.—EDUCATION AND LITERARY OCCUPATIONS; SPECTACLES.

DURING the fifteenth century, ſociety in England was going through a tranſition which was leſs viſible on the ſurface than it was great and effectual at the heart. France and England were both torn by revolutionary ſtruggles, but with very different reſults; for while in France the political power of the middle claſſes was deſtroyed, and the country was delivered to the deſpotiſm of the crown and of the great lords, in our country it was the feudal nobility which was ruined, while the municipal bodies had obtained an increaſed importance in the ſtate, and the landed gentry gained more independence and power from the decline of that of the great feudal barons. Yet in both countries feudaliſm itſelf, in its real character, was rapidly paſſing away—in France, before the power of the crown; in England, before the remodelling and reformation of ſociety. While the ſubſtance of feudaliſm was thus periſhing, its outward forms appeared to be more ſought than ever, and the pride and oſtentation of rank, and its arrogance too, prevailed during the fifteenth century to a greater degree than at any previous period. The court of Burgundy, itſelf only in origin a feudal principality, had ſet itſelf up as the model of feudaliſm, and there the old romances of chivalry were remodelled and publiſhed anew, and were read eagerly as the mirror of feudal doctrines. The court of Burgundy was remarkable for

for its wonderful pomp and magnificence, and for its oſtentatious diſplay of wealth; it was conſidered the model of lordly courteſy and high breeding, and was the centre of literature and art; and circumſtances had brought the court of England into intimate connection with it, ſo that the influence of Burgundian faſhions was greater during this period in England than that of the faſhions of the court of France. There can be no doubt, too, that the ſocial character in England and in France were now beginning to diverge widely from each other. The condition of the lower claſs in France was becoming more and more miſerable, and the upper claſſes were becoming more licentious and immoral; whereas, in England, though ſerfdom or villanage ſtill exiſted in name, and in law, the peaſantry had been largely enfranchiſed, and it was gradually diſappearing as a fact; and their landlords, the country gentry, lived among them in more kindly and more intimate intercourſe, inſtead of treating them with tyrannical cruelty, and dragging them off to be ſlaughtered in their private wars. Increaſed commerce had ſpread wealth among the middle claſſes, and had brought with it, no doubt, a conſiderable increaſe of ſocial comfort. Social manners were ſtill very coarſe, but it is quite evident that the efforts of the religious reformers, the Lollards, were improving the moral tone of ſociety in the middle and lower claſſes.

People had, moreover, begun now to diſcuſs great ſocial queſtions. The example of this had been given in England in the celebrated poem of "Piers Ploughman," in the middle of the fourteenth century, and ſuch queſtions were mooted very extenſively by the Lollards, who held as a principle the natural equality of man. This was a doctrine which was accepted very ſlowly, and was certainly diſcountenanced by the Roman Catholic preachers, who encouraged the belief that the diviſion of ſociety into diſtinct claſſes was a permanent judgment of God, and even invented legends to account for its origin. Long after feudaliſm had ceaſed, it was difficult to diſabuſe people of the opinion that the blood which flowed in the veins of a gentleman was of a different kind from that of a peaſant, or even from that of a burgher. One of the legendary explanations of theſe diviſions of blood is given by a poetical writer of the reign of Henry VII., named Alexander Barclay, who has left us

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ſeven "eclogues," as he calls them, on the ſocial queſtions which agitated men's minds in his day. One day, according to this ſtory, while Adam was abſent occupied with his agricultural labours, Eve ſat at home on their threſhold, with all her children about her, when ſuddenly ſhe became aware of the approach of the Creator, and, aſhamed of the great number of them, and fearful that her productiveneſs might be miſinterpreted, ſhe hurriedly concealed thoſe which were the leaſt well-favoured. "Some of them ſhe placed under hay, ſome under ſtraw and chaff, ſome in the chimney, and ſome in a tub of draff; but ſuch as were fair and well made ſhe wiſely and cunningly kept with her." God told her that he had come to ſee her children, that he might promote them in their different degrees; upon which ſhe preſented them in their order of birth. God then ordained the eldeſt to be an emperor, the ſecond to be a king, and the third a duke to guide an army; of the reſt he made earls, lords, barons, ſquires, knights, and "hardy champions." Some he appointed to be "judges, mayors, and governors, merchants, ſheriffs, and protectors, aldermen, and burgeſſes." While all this was going on, Eve began to think of her other children, and, unwilling that they ſhould loſe their ſhare of honours, ſhe now produced them from their hiding-places. They appeared with their hair rough, and powdered with chaff, ſome full of ſtraws, and ſome covered with cobwebs and duſt, "that anybody might be frightened at the ſight of them." They were black with dirt, ill-favoured in countenance, and miſhapen in ſtature, and God did not conceal his diſguſt. "None," he ſaid, "can make a veſſel of ſilver out of an earthen pitcher, or goodly ſilk out of a goat's fleece, or a bright ſword of a cow's tail; neither will I, though I can, make a noble gentleman out of a vile villain. You ſhall all be ploughmen and tillers of the ground, to keep oxen and hogs, to dig and delve, and hedge and dike, and in this wise ſhall ye live in endleſs ſervitude. Even the townſmen ſhall laugh you to ſcorn; yet ſome of you ſhall be allowed to dwell in cities, and ſhall be admitted to ſuch occupations as thoſe of makers of puddings, butchers, cobblers, tinkers, coſtard-mongers, hoſtlers, or daubers." Such, the teller of the ſtory informs us, was the beginning of ſervile labour.

A ſong of the fifteenth century, printed in the collection of ſongs and carols edited for the Percy Society, the burthen of which is the neceſſity of money in all conditions, deſcribes the different ranks and their various aſpirations in the following order: the yeoman who deſires to become a gentleman, the gentleman who ſeeks to be a ſquire, the ſquire who would be a knight, the lettered man who ſeeks diſtinction in the ſchools, the merchant who aſpired to riſe to wealth, and the lawyer who ſought promotion at the bar. In the intereſting "Recueil de Poéſies Françoiſes des xve et xvie ſiècles," by M. de Montaiglon (vol. iii. pp. 138, 147), there are two poems, probably of the latter part of the fifteenth century, entitled *Les Souhaitz des Hommes* (the wiſhes of the men) and *Les Souhaitz des Femmes* (the wiſhes of the women), in which the various claſſes are made to declare that which they deſire moſt. Thus dukes, counts, and knights deſire to be ſkilful in warlike accompliſhments; the preſident in parliament deſires the gold chain and the ſeat of honour, with wiſdom in giving judgment; the advocate wiſhes for eloquence in court, and for a fair bourgeoiſe or damoiſelle at home to make his houſe joyful; the burgher wiſhes for a good fire in winter, and a good ſupply of fat capons; and the clergy are made to wiſh for good cheer and handſome women. The wiſhes of the women are on the whole, perhaps, more characteriſtic than thoſe of the men. Thus, the queen wiſhes to be able to love God and the king, and to live in peace; the ducheſs, to have all the enjoyments and pleaſures of wealth; the counteſs, to have a huſband who was loyal and brave; the knight's lady, to hunt the ſtag in the green woods; the damoiſelle, or lady of gentle blood, alſo loved hunting, and wiſhed for a huſband valiant in war; and the chamber-maiden took pleaſure in walking in the fair fields by the river-ſide; while the bourgeoiſe loved above all things a ſoft bed at night, with a good pillow, and clean white ſheets. That part of ſociety which now comes chiefly under our notice had fallen into two claſſes, that which boaſted gentle blood, and the ungentle, or burgher claſs, and this was particularly ſhown among the ladies, for the bourgeoiſe ſought continually to imitate the gentlewoman, or *damoiſelle*, who, on her part, looked on theſe encroachments of the other with great jealouſy. M. de Montaiglon has printed in the collection juſt quoted

quoted (vol. v. p. 5) a ſhort poem entitled, "The Debate between the Damoiſelle and the Bourgeoiſe," in which the excluſive rights of gentle blood are ſtrongly claimed and diſputed. We have ſeen the ſame ambition of the wives of burghers and yeomen to ape the gentlewoman as far back as the days of Chaucer, and it now often becomes a ſubject of popular ſatire. Yet we muſt not forget that this deſire to imitate higher ſociety aſſiſted much in refining the manners of the middle claſſes. M. de Montaiglon (vol. ii. p. 18) has printed a ſhort piece in verſe of the latter part of the fifteenth century, entitled the "Doctrinal des Filles," containing the ſentiments which teachers ſought to implant in the minds of young ladies, and it will ſuit England at that time equally with France. The young ladies are here recommended to be baſhful; not to be forward in falling in love; to pay proper attention to their dreſs, and to courteouſneſs in behaviour; and not to be too eager in dancing. From all that we gather from the writers of the time, the love of dancing appears at this period to have been carried to a very great degree of extravagance, and to have often led to great diſſoluteneſs in ſocial manners, and the more zealous moraliſts preached againſt the dance with much earneſtneſs. The author of our "Doctrinal" admoniſhes the young unmarried girl to dance with moderation when ſhe is at the "carol" (the name of the ordinary dance), leſt people who ſee her dancing too eagerly ſhould take her for a diſſolute woman—

Fille, quant ſeres en karolle,
Danſes gentiment par meſure,
Car, quant fille ſe deſmeſure,
Tel la voit qui la tient pour folle.

The young lady is next cautioned againſt talking ſcandal, againſt believing in dreams, againſt drinking too much wine, and againſt being too talkative at table. She was to avoid idleneſs, to reſpect the aged, not to allow herſelf to be kiſſed in ſecret (kiſſing in public was the ordinary form of ſalutation), and not to be quarrelſome. She was eſpecially to avoid being alone with a prieſt, except at confeſſion, for it was dangerous to let prieſts haunt the houſe where there were young females—

Fille,

Fille, hormis confeſſion,
Seullette ne parlez à prebſtre;
Laiſſez-les en leur egliſe eſtre,
Sans ce qu'ilz hantent vos maiſons.

Theſe lines, written and publiſhed in a bigoted Roman Catholic country, by a man who was evidently a ſtaunch Romaniſt, and addreſſed to young women as their rule of behaviour, preſent perhaps one of the ſtrongeſt evidences we could have of the evil influence exerciſed by the Romiſh clergy on ſocial morals, a fact, however, of which there are innumerable other proofs.

Whatever may have been the effect of ſuch teaching on the better educated claſſes, the general character of the women of the middle and lower claſſes appears to have been of a deſcription little likely to be conducive to domeſtic happineſs. All the popular materials for ſocial hiſtory repreſent their morals as being very low, and their tempers as overbearing and quarrelſome, the conſequence of which was a ſeparation of domeſtic life among the two ſexes after marriage, the huſbands, when not engaged at their work or buſineſs, ſeeking their amuſement away from the houſe, and the wives aſſembling with their "goſſips," often at the public taverns, to drink and amuſe themſelves. In the old myſteries and morality plays, in which there was a good deal of quiet ſatire on the manners of the age in which they were compoſed and acted, Noah's wife appears often as the type of the married woman in the burgher claſs, and her temper ſeems to have become almoſt proverbial. In the "Towneley Myſteries," when Noah acquaints his wife with the approach of the threatened deluge, and of his orders to build the ark, ſhe abuſes him ſo groſſly as a common carrier of ill news, that he is provoked to ſtrike her; ſhe returns the blow, and they have a regular battle, in which the huſband has the advantage, but he is glad to eſcape from her tongue, and proceed to his work. In the "Cheſter Myſteries," Noah's wife will not go into the ark; and when all is ready, the flood beginning, and the neceſſity of taking her in apparent, ſhe refuſes to enter, unleſs ſhe is allowed to take her goſſips with her:—

Yea, ſir, ſette up youer ſaile,
And rowe fourth with evill haile,
For withouten fayle

I will not oute of this towne,
But I have my goſſippes everyechone (every one)
One foote further I will not gone (go).
They ſhall not drowne, by Sante John,
And I maye ſave ther life!
They loven me full wel, by Chriſte!
But thout lett them into they cheiſte,
Elles (otherwise) *rowe nowe wher the leiſte* (where you like),
And gette thee a newe wiffe.

It is to be ſuppoſed that Noah, when he wanted her, had found her with her goſſips in the tavern. At laſt, Noah's three ſons are obliged to drag their mother into the "boat," when a ſcene occurs which appears thus briefly indicated in the text,—

Noye.

Welcome, wiffe, into this botte!

Noye's Wiffe.

Have thou that for thy note! [She beats him.]

Noye.

Ha, ha! marye, this is hotte!
It is good for to be ſtill.

The converſation of theſe "goſſips," when they met, was looſe and coarſe in the extreme, and, as deſcribed in contemporary writings, the practice even of profane ſwearing prevailed generally among both ſexes to a degree which, to our ears, would ſound perfectly frightful—it was one of the vices againſt which the moraliſts preached moſt bitterly. Life, indeed, in ſpite of its occaſional refinement in the higher ranks of ſociety, was eſſentially coarſe at this period, and we can hardly conceive much delicacy of people who dieted as, for inſtance, the family of the earl of Northumberland are reported to have done in the houſehold book, compiled in 1512, which was publiſhed by biſhop Percy. I only give the breakfaſt allowances, which, on fleſh-days, were "for my lord and my lady," a loaf of bread "in trenchers," two manchets (loaves of fine meal), one quart of beer (or, as we ſhould now call it, ale), a quart of wine, half a chine of mutton, or a chine of beef boiled; for "my lord Percy and Mr. Thomas Percy"

Percy" (the two elder children), half a loaf of houſehold bread, a manchet, one pottle of beer (two quarts—they were not yet allowed wine), a chicken, or elſe three mutton bones boiled; "breakfaſts for the nurcery, for my lady Margaret and Mr. Ingram Percy" (who in fact were mere children), a manchet, one quart of beer, and three mutton bones boiled; for my lady's gentlewomen, a loaf of houſehold bread, a pottle of beer, and three mutton bones boiled, or elſe a piece of beef boiled. It will be ſeen here that the family dined two to a plate, or meſs, as was the uſual cuſtom in the middle ages. On fiſh-days, the breakfaſt allowances were as follows: for my lord and my lady, a loaf of bread in trenchers, two manchets, a quart of beer, a quart of wine, two pieces of ſalt fiſh, ſix baked herrings, or a diſh of ſprats; for the two elder ſons, half a loaf of houſehold bread, a manchet, a pottle of beer, a diſh of butter, a piece of ſalt fiſh, a diſh of ſprats, or three white (freſh) herrings; for the two children in the nurſery, a manchet, a quart of beer, a diſh of butter, a piece of ſalt fiſh, a diſh of ſprats, or three white herrings; and for my lady's gentlewomen, a loaf of bread, a pottle of beer, a piece of ſalt fiſh, or three white herrings. We ſhall be inclined, in comparing it with our modern ſtyle of living, to conſider this as a very ſubſtantial meal to begin the day with.

According to the old moral and ſatirical writers, exceſſive greedineſs in eating had become one of the prevailing vices of this age. Barclay, in his "Eclogues," gives a ſtrange picture of the bad regulations of the tables at the courts of great people, in the time of Henry VII. He deſcribes the tables as ſerved in great confuſion, and even as covered with dirty table-cloths. The food he repreſents as being bad in itſelf, and often ill-cooked. Everybody, he ſays, was obliged to eat in a hurry, unleſs he would loſe his chance of eating at all, and they ſerved the worſt diſhes firſt, ſo that when you had ſatiated yourſelf with food which was hardly palatable, the dainties made their appearance. This led people to eat more than they wanted. When an attractive diſh did make its appearance, it led literally to a ſcramble among the gueſts:—

But if it fortune, as ſeldome doth befall,
That at beginning come diſhes beſt of all,

Or

Or (before) *thou haſt taſted a morſell or twayne,*
Thy diſh out of ſight is taken ſoon agayne.
Slowe be the ſervers in ſerving in alway,
But ſwifte be they after taking thy meate away.
A ſpeciall cuſtome is uſed them among,
No good diſh to ſuffer on borde to be longe.
If the diſh be pleaſaunt, eyther fleſhe or fiſhe,
Ten handes at once ſwarme in the diſhe;
And if it be fleſhe, ten knives ſhalt thou ſee
Mangling the fleſh and in the platter flee;
To put there thy handes is perill without fayle,
Without a gauntlet or els a glove of mayle.

It would thus ſeem that the ſervers left the gueſts, except thoſe at the high table, to help themſelves. It appears that in the earlier part of the ſixteenth century, the Engliſh had gained the character of keeping the moſt profuſe tables, and being the greateſt eaters, in Europe. A ſcrap preſerved in a manuſcript of the reign of Henry VIII., and printed in the "Reliquiæ Antiquæ" (vol. i. p. 326), offers rather a curious excuſe for this character. There was a merchant of England, we are told, who adventured into far countries, and when he had been there a month or more, a great lord invited this Engliſh merchant to dinner. And when they were at dinner, the lord wondered that he eat not more of his meat, for, ſaid he, "Engliſhmen are called the greateſt feeders in the world, and it is reported that one man will eat as much as ſix of another nation, and more victuals are conſumed there than in any other region." "It is true," the merchant replied, "it is ſo, and for three reaſonable cauſes ſo much victual is ſerved on the table; one of which is, for love, another, for phyſic, and the third, for dread. Sir, as concerns the firſt, we are accuſtomed to have many divers meats for our friends and kinsfolk, becauſe ſome love one manner of meat, and ſome another, and we wiſh every man to be ſatisfied. Secondly, in regard of phyſic, becauſe for divers maladies which people have, ſome men will eat one meat, and ſome another, it is deſirable that everybody ſhould be ſuited. The third cauſe is for dread; for we have ſo great abundance and plenty in our realm, of beaſts and fowls, that if we ſhould not kill and deſtroy them, they would deſtroy and devour us." It may be remarked that, during this

this period, the Engliſh merchants and burghers in general ſeem to have kept very good tables, and that the lower orders, and even the peaſantry, appear to have been by no means ill fed.

The confuſion in ſerving at table deſcribed by Alexander Barclay was no doubt cauſed in a great meaſure by the numerous troops of riotous and unruly ſerving men and followers, who were kept by the noblemen and greater land-holders, and who formed everywhere one of the curſes of ſociety. Within the houſehold, they had become ſo unmanageable that their maſters made vain attempts to regulate them; while abroad they were continually engaged in quarrels, often ſanguinary ones, with countrymen or townſmen, or with the retainers of other noblemen or gentlemen, in which their maſters conſidered that it concerned their credit to ſupport and protect them, ſo that the quarrels of the ſervants became ſometimes feuds between their lords. The old writers, of all deſcriptions, bear witneſs to the bad conduct of ſerving men and ſervants in general, and to their riotouſneſs, and eſpecially of the *garçons*, or, as they were called in Engliſh, "lads." Cain's *garcio*, in the "Towneley Myſteries," was intended as a picture of this claſs, in all their coarſeneſs and vulgarity; and the character of Jak Garcio, in the play of "The Shepherds," in the ſame collection, is another type of them.

We have ſeen that the breakfaſt in the houſehold of the Percys was a very ſubſtantial meal, but it ſeems not to have been generally conſidered a regular meal, either as to what was eaten at it, or as to the hour at which it was taken. Perhaps this was left to the convenience, or caprice, of individuals.* We have a curious deſcription of the diviſion of the occupations of the day in a princely houſehold, in an account which has been left us of the houſehold regulations of the ducheſs of York, mother of king Edward IV., which, however, were ſtrongly influenced by the pious character of that princeſs, who ſpent much time in religious duties and

* At a rather later period, ſir Thomas Elyot, in his "Caſtell of Helth" (printed in 1541), recommends that breakfaſt ſhould be taken about four hours before dinner, conſidering it therefore as a light meal, and he adviſes, in a ſanitary view, that not less than ſix hours ſhould be allowed to elapſe between dinner and ſupper.

obſervances.

obſervances. Her uſual hour of riſing was ſeven o'clock, when ſhe heard matins; ſhe then "made herſelf ready," or dreſſed herſelf, for the occupations of the day, and when this was done, ſhe had a low maſs in her chamber. After this maſs, ſhe took ſomething "to recreate nature," which was, in fact, her breakfaſt, though it is afterwards ſtated that it was not a regular meal. She then went to chapel, and remained at religious ſervice until dinner, which, as we are further told, took place, "upon eating days," at eleven o'clock, with a firſt dinner in the time of high maſs for the various officers whoſe duty it was to attend at table; but, on faſting days, the dinner hour was twelve o'clock, with a later dinner for carvers and waiters. After dinner, the princeſs devoted an hour to give audience to all who had any buſineſs with her; ſhe then ſlept for a quarter of an hour, and then ſpent her time in prayer until the firſt peal of even-ſong (veſpers), when "ſhe drank wine or ale at her pleaſure." She went to chapel, and returned thence to ſupper, which, on eating days, was ſerved at five o'clock, the carvers and ſervers at table having ſupped at four. The ordinary diet in the houſe of this princeſs appears to have been extremely ſimple. On Sunday, Tueſday, and Thurſday, the houſehold was ſerved at dinner with beef and mutton, and one roaſt; at ſupper with "leyched" beef and roaſt mutton; on Monday and Wedneſday, they had boiled beef and mutton at dinner, and at ſupper, the ſame as on the three other days; on Friday, ſalt fiſh and two diſhes of freſh fiſh; and on Saturday, ſalt fiſh, one freſh fiſh, and butter, for dinner, and ſalt fiſh and eggs for ſupper. After ſupper, the princeſs "diſpoſed herſelf to be familiar with her gentlewomen," with "honeſt mirth;" and one hour before going to bed ſhe took a cup of wine, went to her privy cloſet to pray, and was in bed by eight o'clock.

The ducheſs of York is of courſe to be looked upon as a model of piety and ſobriety, and her hours are not perhaps to be taken as exactly thoſe of other people, and certainly not her occupations. In the French "Débat de la Damoiſelle et de la Bourgeoiſe," the latter accuſes the gentlewoman of late riſing. "Before you are awake," ſhe ſays, "I am dreſſed and have attended to my duties; do not therefore be ſurpriſed if we are more diligent than you, ſince you ſleep till dinner-

 time."

time." "No," replies the damoiſelle, "we muſt ſpend our evening in dancing, and cannot do as you, who go to bed at the ſame time as your hens."

It has been ſtated already that, even in the higheſt ranks of ſociety, the ladies were uſually employed at home on uſeful, and often on profitable work. This work embraced the various proceſſes in the manufacture of linen and cloth, as well as the making it up into articles of dreſs, and embroidery, netting, and other ſimilar occupations. The ſpinning-wheel was a neceſſary implement in every houſehold, from the palace to the cottage. In 1437, John Notyngham, a rich grocer of Bury St. Edmunds, bequeathed to one of his legatees, "j ſpynnyng whel et j par carpſarum," meaning probably "a pair of cards," an implement which is ſtated in the "Promptorium Parvulorum" to be eſpecially a "wommanys inſtrument." A few years previouſly, in 1418, Agnes Stubbard, a reſident in the ſame town, bequeathed to two of her maids, each, one pair of wool-combs, one "kembyng-ſtok" (a combing-ſtock, or machine for holding the wool to be combed), one wheel, and one pair of cards; and to another woman a pair of wool-combs, a wheel, and a pair of cards. John Baret, of Bury, in 1463, evidently a rich man with a very large houſe and houſehold, ſpeaks in his will of a part of the houſe, or probably a room, which was diſtinguiſhed as the "ſpinning houſe." Our cut No. 265, from an illuminated Bible of the fifteenth century in the Imperial Library at Paris (No. 6829), repreſents a woman of apparently an ordinary claſs of ſociety at work with her diſtaff under her arm. The next cut (No. 266) is taken from a fine illuminated manuſcript of the well-known French "Boccace des Nobles Femmes," and illuſtrates the ſtory of "Cyrille," the wife of king Tarquin. We have here a queen and her maidens employed in the ſame kind of domeſtic labours. The lady on the left is occupied with her combs, or cards, and her combing-ſtock; the other ſits at her diſtaff, alſo ſupported by a ſtock, inſtead

No. 265. Lady at her Diſtaff.

inſtead of holding it under her arm; and the queen, with her hand on the ſhuttle, is performing the final operation of weaving.

Some of the more elegant female accompliſhments, which were unknown in the earlier ages, were now coming into vogue. Dancing

No. 266. A Queen and her Damſels at Work.

was, as already ſtated, a more favourite amuſement than ever, and it received a new *éclat* from the frequent introduction of new dances, of which ſome of the old popular writers give us long liſts. Some of theſe, too, were of a far more active and exciting deſcription than formerly. One of the perſonages in the early interlude of "The Four Elements," talks of perſons—

That ſhall both daunce and ſpryng,
And torne clene above the grounde,
With fryſcas and with gambawdes round,
That all the hall ſhall ryng.

Muſic, alſo, was more extenſively cultivated as a domeſtic accompliſhment; and it was a more common thing to meet with ladies who indulged in

in literary purſuits. Sometimes, too, the ladies of the fifteenth century practiſed drawing and painting,—arts which, inſtead of being, as formerly, reſtricted almoſt to the clergy, had now paſſed into the hands of the laity, and were undergoing rapid improvement. The illuminated manuſcript of "Boccace des Nobles Femmes," which furniſhed the ſubject of our laſt cut, contains ſeveral pictures of ladies occupied in painting, one of which (illuſtrating the chapter on "Marcie Vierge") is repreſented in our cut No. 267. The lady has her palette, her colour-box, and her

No. 267. A Lady Artiſt.

ſtone for grinding the colours, much as an artiſt of the preſent day would have, though ſhe is ſeated before a ſomewhat ſingularly formed frame-work. She is evidently painting her own portrait, for which purpoſe ſhe uſes the mirror which hangs over the colour-box. It is rather curious that the tools which lie by the ſide of the grinding-ſtone are thoſe of a ſculptor, and not thoſe of a painter, ſo that it was no doubt intended we ſhould ſuppoſe that ſhe combined the two branches of the art. In one of the illuminations of the manuſcript of the "Romance of the Roſe," which has been quoted before, preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum, we have a picture of a male painter, copied in our cut No. 268, and intended to repreſent Apelles, who is working with a palette and eaſel, exactly as artiſts

artiſts do at the preſent day: both he and our lady artiſt in the cut are evidently painting on board. We begin now alſo to trace the exiſtence

No. 268. *A Painter at his Eaſel.*

of a great number of domeſtic ſports and paſtimes, ſome of which ſtill remain in uſage, but which we have not here room to enumerate.

Out of doors, the garden continued to be the favourite reſort of the ladies. It would be eaſy to pick out numerous deſcriptions of gardens from the writers of the fifteenth century. Lydgate thus deſcribes the garden of the rich "churl:"—

Whilom ther was in a ſmal village,
As myn autor makethe reherſayle,
A chorle, whiche hadde luſt and a grete corage
Within hymſelf, be diligent travayle,
To array his gardeyn with notable apparayle,
Of lengthe and brede yelicke (equally) *ſquare and longe,*
Hegged and dyked to make it ſure and ſtronge.

Alle the aleis were made playne with ſond (sand),
The benches (banks) *turned with newe turvis grene,*
Sote herbers (sweet beds of plants), *with condite* (fountain) *at the honde,*
That wellid up agayne the ſonne ſchene,
Lyke ſilver ſtremes as any criſtalle clene,

The

The burbly wawes (bubbling waves) *in up boyling,*
Rounde as byralle ther beamys out ſhynynge.

Amyddis the gardeyn ſtode a freſſh lawrer (laurel),
Theron a bird ſyngyng bothe day and nyghte.

And at a ſomewhat later period, Stephen Hawes, in his ſingular poem entitled "The Paſtime of Pleaſure," deſcribes a larger and more magnificent garden. Amour arrives at the gate of the garden of La Bel Pucel, and requeſts the portreſs to conduct him to her miſtreſs—

"Truly," quod ſhe, "in the garden grene
Of many a ſwete and ſundry flowre
She maketh a garlonde that is veray ſhene,
Wythe trueloves wrought in many a coloure,
Replete with ſwetenes and dulcet odoure;
And all alone, wythout company,
Amyddes an herber ſhe ſitteth pleſauntly."

From the deſcription of this "gloryous" garden that follows, we might imagine that the practice of cutting or training trees and flowers into fantaſtic ſhapes, as was done with box-trees in the laſt century, had prevailed among the gardeners of the fifteenth. The garden of La Bel Pucel is deſcribed as being—

Wyth Flora paynted and wrought curyouſly,
In divers knottes of marvaylous gretenes;
Rampande lyons ſtode up wonderſly,
Made all of herbes with dulcet ſwetenes,
Wyth many dragons of marvaylos likenes,
Of dyvers floures made ful craftely,
By Flora couloured wyth colours ſundry.

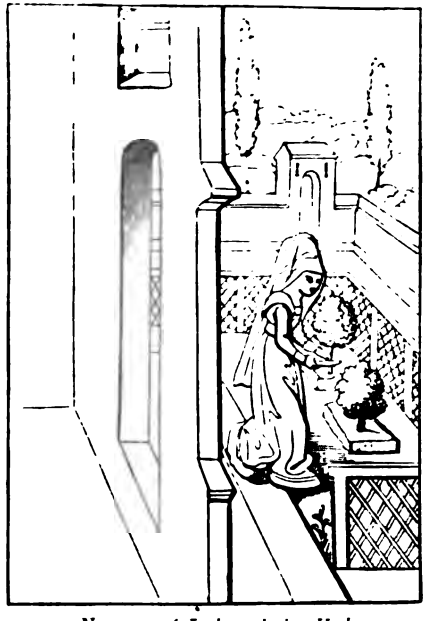
Amiddes the garden ſo moche delectable
There was an herber fayre and quadrante,
To paradyſe right well comparable,
Set all about with floures fragraunt;
And in the myddle there was reſplendyſhaunte
A dulcet ſpring and marvaylous fountaine,
Of golde and aſure made all certaine.
* * * *
Beſyde whiche fountayne, the mooſt fayre lady
La Bel Pucel was gayly ſyttyng;
Of many floures fayre and ryally
A goodly chaplet ſhe was in makynge.

I have had occaſion before to obſerve that garlands and chaplets of flowers were in great requeſt in the middle ages, and the making of them was a favourite occupation. Our cut No. 269, taken from the illuminated calendar prefixed to the ſplendid manuſcript "Heures" of Anne of Brittany in the Imperial Library in Paris, where it illuſtrates the month of May, repreſents the interior of a garden, with a lady thus employed with her maidens. This garden appears to be a ſquare piece of ground, ſurrounded by a high wall, with a central compartment or lawn encloſed

No. 269. A Lady and her Maidens weaving Garlands.

by a fence of trellis-work and a hedge of roſe trees. Pictures of gardens will alſo be found in the MS. of the "Romance of the Roſe" already referred to, and in other illuminated books, but the illuminators were unable to repreſent the elaborate deſcriptions of the poets. Beſides flowers, every garden contained herbs for medicinal and other purpoſes, ſuch as love-philtars, which were in great repute in the middle ages. In the romance of "Gerard de Nevers" (or La Violette), an old woman goes into the garden attached to the caſtle where ſhe lives, to gather herbs for making a deadly poiſon. This incident is repreſented in our cut No. 270, taken from a magnificent illuminated manuſcript of the proſe verſion of this romance in the Imperial Library in Paris. The garden

garden is here again ſurrounded by a wall, with a poſtern gate leading to the country, and we have the ſame trellis fencings as before. It appears



No. 270. A Lady gathering Herbs.

to have been the uſual cuſtom thus to encloſe and protect the beds in a garden with a trellis fence.

The various games and exerciſes practiſed by people out of doors ſeem to have differed little at this time from thoſe belonging to former periods, except that from time to time we meet with alluſions to kinds of amuſement which have not before been mentioned, although they were probably well known. Among the drawings of the borders of illuminated manuſcripts, from the thirteenth century to the beginning of the ſixteenth, we meet with groups of children and of adults, which repreſent, doubtleſs, games of which both the names and the explanations are loſt; and ſometimes we are ſurpriſed to find thus repreſented games which otherwiſe we ſhould have ſuppoſed to be of modern invention. One very curious inſtance

inſtance may be ſtated. In the now rather celebrated manuſcript of the French romance of "Alexander," in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, which was written and illuminated in the fourteenth century, we have

No. 271. A Puppet Show.

repreſentations of a puppet ſhow, which appears to be identical with our modern Punch and Judy. We copy one of theſe curious early drawings in our cut No. 271.

Among the paſtimes moſt popular at this time with the lower and middle claſſes were archery, the practice of which was enforced by authority, and ſhooting with the crosſbow, as well as moſt of the ordinary rough games known at a later period, ſuch as football and the like. The Engliſh archers were celebrated throughout Europe. The poet Barclay, who wrote at the cloſe of the century, makes the ſhepherd in one of his eclogues not only boaſt of his ſkill in archery, but he adds—

I can dance the ray; I can both pipe and ſing,
If I were mery; I can both hurle and ſling;
I runne, I wreſtle, I can welle throwe the barre,
No ſhepherd throweth the axeltree ſo farre;
If I were mery, I could welle leape and ſpring;
I were a man mete to ſerve a prince or king.

Bull-baiting, bear-baiting, and ſuch like ſports, were alſo purſued with avidity; and even gentlemen and young noblemen took part in them. Any game, in fact, which produced violent exerciſe and violent excitement was in favour with all ranks. Among the higher claſſes, hunting and hawking were purſued with more eagerneſs than ever, and

they become now the ſubjects of numerous written treatiſes, ſetting forth their laws and regulations. When gentlemen were riding out for pleaſure, they were uſually accompanied with hawks and hounds.

No. 272. A Party Hawking.

In the annexed cut (No. 272), taken from an illuminated manuſcript of the French Boccaccio at Paris (Imperial Library, MS. No. 6887),

No. 273. A Royal Carriage and Eſcort.

a party thus attended meets another party on horſeback, and they are in the act of ſaluting each other. Horſes were ſtill almoſt the only conveyance

conveyance from place to place, though we now more often meet with pictures of carriages; but, though evidently intended to be very gorgeous, they are of clumsy construction, and seem only to have been used by princes or great nobles. I give two examples from a superbly illuminated manuscript of the French translation of "Valerius Maximus," in the great national library in Paris (No. 6984), executed in the latter part of the fifteenth century. The first (cut No. 273) is a royal car, in which a throne has been placed for the king, who sits in it in state. His guards lead the horses. The form of the carriage is very simple; it is a mere cart on wheels, without any springs, and has a covering supported on two large hoops, which are strengthened by cross-bars resembling the spokes of a wheel. In the second example (cut No. 274), the car-

No. 274. Tullia Riding over her Father's Body.

riage bears some resemblance to a modern omnibus. It is intended to represent the incident in Roman history, where the unfilial Tullia caused her charioteer to drive over the body of her father, Servius Tullus, who had been slain by her husband Tarquin the Proud. The ladies appear to sit on benches inside the carriage, while the driver is mounted on the horse nearest to it. These carriages still retained the name of carts, although they appear to have been used chiefly on state occasions. Riding in them must have been very uneasy, and they were exposed to accidents. When Richard II. made his grand entry into London, a ceremony described by Richard de Maidstone in Latin verse, the ladies of the court

rode

rode in two cars, or carts, one of which fell over, and expoſed its fair occupants in a not very decorous manner to the jeers of the multitude.

As yet carriages ſeem not to have been uſed in travelling, which was performed on horſeback or on foot. During the century of which we are ſpeaking, eſpecially after the acceſſion of Henry VI. to the Engliſh throne, the roads were extremely inſecure, the country being infeſted by ſuch numerous bands of robbers that it was neceſſary to travel in conſiderable companies, and well armed. From this circumſtance, and from the political condition of the age, the retinue of the nobility and gentry preſented a very formidable appearance; and ſuch as could only afford to travel with one or two ſervants generally attached themſelves to ſome powerful neighbour, and contrived to make their occaſions of locomotion coincide with his. We find ſeveral alluſions to the dangers of travelling in the Paſton Letters. In a letter dated in 1455 or 1460 (it is uncertain which), Margaret Paſton deſires her huſband, then in London, to pay a debt for one of their friends, becauſe, on account of the robbers who beſet the road, money could not be ſent ſafely from Norfolk to the capital. A year or two earlier, we hear of a knight of Suffolk riding with a hundred horſemen, armed defenſively and offenſively, beſides the accompaniment of friends. As travelling, however, became frequent, it led to the multiplication of places of entertainment on the roads, and large hoſtelries and inns were now ſcattered pretty thickly over the country, not only in all the ſmaller towns, but often in villages, and ſometimes even in comparatively lonely places. In the manuſcript of the French Boccaccio in the Imperial Library (No. 6887), there is a picture (copied in our cut No. 275) repreſenting a publican ſerving his liquor on a bench outſide his door.

No. 275. A Publican.

The tavern was the general lounge of the idle, and even of the induſtrious, during their hours of relaxation; and in the towns a good part

part of the male population who had not domeſtic eſtabliſhments of their own appear to have lived at the taverns and eating-houſes, the allurements of which drew them into every ſort of diſſipation, which ended in the ruin of men's fortunes and health. The poet Occleve, in his reminiſcences of his own conduct, deſcribes the life of the riotous young men of his time. The ſign which hung at the tavern door, he ſays, was always a temptation to him, which he could ſeldom reſiſt. The tavern was the reſort of women of light character, and was the ſcene of brawls and outrages; by the former of which he was frequently ſeduced into extravagant expenditure, but his want of courage, he confeſſes, kept him out of the latter. Weſtminſter gate was then celebrated for its taverns and cooks' ſhops, at which the poet Occleve's laviſhneſs made him a welcome gueſt:—

Wher was a gretter maiſter eek than y,
Or bet acqweyntid at Weſtmynſter yate,
Among the taverneres namely (especially)
And cookes? Whan I cam, eerly or late,
I pynchid nat at hem in myne acate (purchase of provisions),
But paied hem as that they axe wolde;
Wherfore I was the welcomer algate (always),
And for a verray (true) *gentilman yholde.*

Here he ſpent his nights in ſuch a manner that he went to bed later than any of his companions, except perhaps two, whoſe time of going to bed he ſays that he did not know, it was ſo late, but he aſſerts that they loved their beds ſo well that they never left them till near prime, or ſix o'clock in the morning, which thus appears, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, to have been conſidered an exceſſively late hour for riſing.

The tavern was alſo the reſort of women of the middle and lower orders, who aſſembled there to drink, and to goſſip. It has been already ſtated that, in the myſteries, or religious plays, Noah was repreſented as finding his wife drinking with her goſſips at the tavern when he wanted to take her into the ark. The meetings of goſſips in taverns form the ſubjects of many of the popular ſongs of the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries, both in England and France. It appears that theſe meetings of

of goſſips in taverns were the firſt examples of what we now call a pic-nic, for each woman took with her ſome proviſions, and with theſe the whole party made a feaſt in common. A ſong of perhaps the middle of the fifteenth century, printed in my collection of "Songs and Carols," edited for the Percy Society, gives us rather a pictureſque deſcription of one of theſe goſſip-meetings. The women, having met accidentally, the queſtion is put where the beſt wine was to be had, and one of them replies that ſhe knows where could be procured the beſt drink in the town, but that ſhe did not wiſh her huſband to be acquainted with it:—

I know a drawght of mery-go-downe,
The beſt it is in all thys towne;
But yet wold I not, for my goume,
My huſbond it wyſt, ye may me truſt.

The place of meeting having thus been fixed, they are repreſented as proceeding thither two and two, not to attract obſervation, leſt their huſbands might hear of their meeting. "God might ſend me a ſtripe or two," ſaid one, "if my huſband ſhould ſee me here." "Nay," ſaid Alice, another, "ſhe that is afraid had better go home; I dread no man." Each was to carry with her ſome gooſe, or pork, or the wing of a capon, or pigeon pie, or ſome ſimilar article—

And ich (each) off them wyll ſumwhat bryng,
Goſſe, pygge, or capons wyng,
Paſtés off pigeons, or ſum other thyng.

Accordingly, on arriving at the tavern, they call for wine "of the beſt," and then

Ech off them brought forth ther dyſch;
Sum brought fleſh, and ſume fyſh.

Their converſation runs firſt on the goodneſs of the wines, and next on the behaviour of their huſbands, with whom they are all diſſatisfied. In one copy of the ſong, a harper makes his appearance, whom they hire, and dance to his muſic. When they pay their reckoning, they find, in one copy of the ſong, that it amounts to threepence each, and rejoice that it is ſo little, while in another they find that each has to pay ſixpence, and are alarmed at the greatneſs of the amount. They agree to ſeparate,

ſeparate, and go home by different ſtreets, and they are repreſented as telling their huſbands that they had been to church. This is no doubt a picture of a common ſcene in the fifteenth century. Among the municipal records of Canterbury, there is preſerved the depoſition of a man who appears to have been ſuſpected of a robbery, and who, to prove an alibi, deſcribes all his actions during three days. On one of theſe, Monday, he went after eight o'clock in the evening to a tavern, and there he found "wyfes" drinking, "that is to ſay, Goddardes wyfe, Cornewelles wyfe, and another woman," and he had a halfpennyworth of beer with them. This was apparently at the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII.

It has been intimated before, that literature and reading had now become more general accompliſhments than formerly. We can trace among the records of ſocial hiſtory a general ſpreading of education, which ſhowed an increaſing intellectual agitation; in fact, education, without becoming more perfect, had become more general. I have already given figures of the implements of writing at an earlier period. In one of the compartments of the tapeſtry of "Nancy" (of the latter part of this century), engravings of which have been publiſhed by M. Achille Jubinal, we have a figure of a ſcribe (cut No. 276) with all his apparatus of writing, —the pen, the penknife, and the portable pen-caſe with ink-ſtand attached. But the moſt curious article which this ſcribe has in uſe is a pair of *ſpectacles*. Spectacles, however, we know had been in exiſtence long before this period. A century earlier, Chaucer's "Wife of Bath" obſerved rather ſententiouſly:—

No. 276. A Scribe, in Spectacles, from the tapeſtry of Nancy.

> *Povert ful often, whan a man is lowe,*
> *Maketh him his God and eek himſelf to knowe.*
> *Povert a* spectacle *is, as thinketh me,*
> *Thurgh which he may his verray frendes ſe.*

Lydgate,

Lydgate, addreſſing an old man who was on the point of marrying a young wife, tells him to

> *Loke ſone after a potent* (staff) *and* spectacle;
> *Be not aſhamed to take hem to thyn eaſe.*

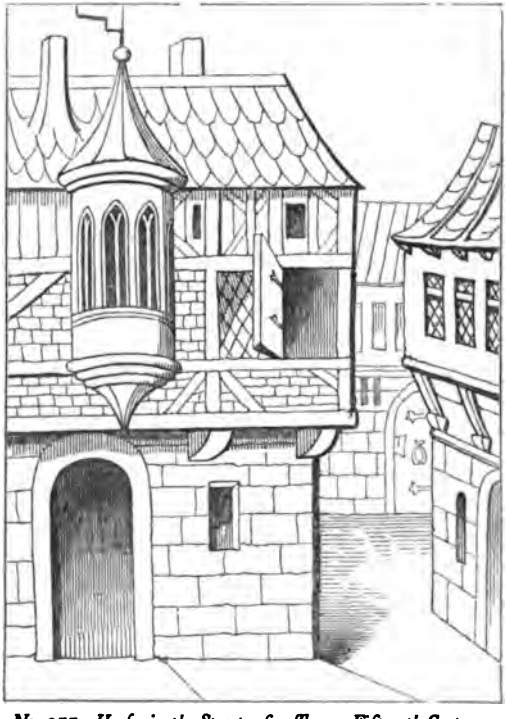
John Baret, of Bury St. Edmunds, in 1463, left by will to one of the monks of Bury, his ivory tables (the *tabulæ* for writing on), and a pair of ſpectacles of ſilver-gilt:—"Item: To daun Johan Janyng, my tablees of ivory, with the combe, and a payre ſpectacles of ſylvir and ovir-gilt." This ſhows that already in the middle of the fifteenth century, a pair of ſpectacles was not an uncommon article.

CHAPTER XXI.

CHANGES IN ENGLISH DOMESTIC MANNERS DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE REFORMATION AND THE COMMONWEALTH.—THE COUNTRY GENTLEMAN'S HOUSE.—ITS HALL.—THE FIREPLACE AND FIRE.—UTENSILS.—COOKERY.—USUAL HOURS FOR MEALS.—BREAKFAST.—DINNER, AND ITS FORMS AND CUSTOMS.—THE BANQUET.—CUSTOM OF DRINKING HEALTHS.

THE Reformation brought with it, or at all events it was coeval with, a general revolution in ſociety. Although the nobility ſtill kept up much of their ancient ſtate, feudaliſm was deſtroyed during the reigns of the firſt two Tudors, while the lower and middle claſſes of the population were riſing in condition and in the conſciouſneſs of their own importance, and with this riſe came an increaſe of domeſtic comforts and ſocial development. It was on the ruins of the monaſtic property, confiſcated by Henry VIII., that the Engliſh gentlemen gained their higheſt poſition, and, by their independence of the old ariſtocracy, they aſſiſted in finally breaking its power, and thus gave a new character to Engliſh ſociety, which at the ſame time was experiencing influences that came ſucceſſively from without. Till the reign of Elizabeth, and after her acceſſion to the throne, there was a cloſe connection with the Netherlands and Germany, and we imported moſt of our novelties and faſhions from our Proteſtant neighbours on the continent; whilſt, from Elizabeth's reign onwards, and with little intermiſſion to the preſent time, France has been our principal model for imitation. This is a point which is the more neceſſary to be obſerved in treating of this ſubject, becauſe during the period between the Reformation and the Commonwealth, the art of engraving in this country had been carried to little perfection, and was comparatively rarely practiſed, and we are obliged to look for our pictorial illuſtrations of manners to the works of foreign artiſts.

In towns, domeſtic architecture experienced no great change in the courſe of the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries. Small narrow ſtreets, with buildings chiefly of the claſs we term half-timber houſes—the beſt of which had their lower ſtory of ſtone, while thoſe above, each projecting beyond the one below it, conſiſted of a timber framework filled up with bricks—occupied the greater part of the town, and gave it a compact



No. 277. Houſes in the Streets of a Town, Fifteenth Century.

appearance which was quite inconſiſtent with our modern notions of ſanitary arrangement. In the interior the rooms were generally ſmall and dark, but domeſtic comfort ſeems not to have been ſo much overlooked as we are in the habit of ſuppoſing. Our cut No. 277, taken from an engraving in the Engliſh edition of Barclay's "Ship of Fools,"

1570,

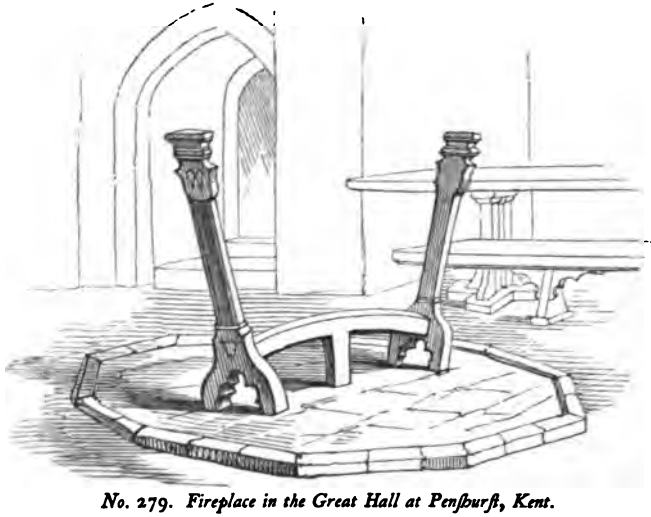
1570, gives us a good repreſentation of the general appearance of houſes in a town at that period. In the country a greater change had taken place in all but the houſes of the peaſantry. The older caſtles had become obſolete, and, with the increaſing power and efficiency of the laws, it was no longer neceſſary to conſult ſtrength before convenience. The houſes of the gentry were, however, ſtill built of conſiderable extent, and during the ſixteenth century the older domeſtic arrangements were only ſlightly modified. Now, however, inſtead of ſeeking a ſtrong poſition, people choſe ſituations that were agreeable and healthful, where they might be protected from inclemency of weather, and where gardens and orchards might be planted advantageouſly. Thus, like the earlier monaſtic edifices, a gentleman's houſe was built more frequently on low ground than on a hill.

In the ſixteenth century, the hall continued to hold its poſition as the

No. 278. The "Hundred Men's Hall," at St. Croſs, near Winchester.

great public apartment of the houſe, and in its arrangements it ſtill differed little from thoſe of an earlier date; it was indeed now the only part

part of the houſe which had not been affected by the increaſing taſte for domeſtic privacy. We have many examples of the old Gothic hall in this country, not only as it exiſted and was uſed in the ſixteenth century, but, in ſome caſes, eſpecially in colleges, ſtill uſed for its original purpoſes. One of the ſimpleſt, and at the ſame time beſt, examples is found in the Hoſpital of St. Croſs, near Winchester, and a ſketch of the interior, as repreſented in our cut No. 278, will ſerve to give a general notion of the arrangements of this part of the manſion in former days. As the hall was frequently the ſcene of feſtivities of every deſcription, a gallery for the muſicians was conſidered one of its neceſſary appendages. In ſome caſes, as at Madresfield in Worceſterſhire, a gallery ran round two or more ſides of the hall; but generally the muſic gallery occupied one end of the hall, oppoſite the dais. Under it was a paſſage, ſeparated from the hall by a wooden ſcreen, uſually of panel-work, and having on the oppoſite ſide the kitchen and buttery. In the large halls, the fireplace ſtill frequently occu-



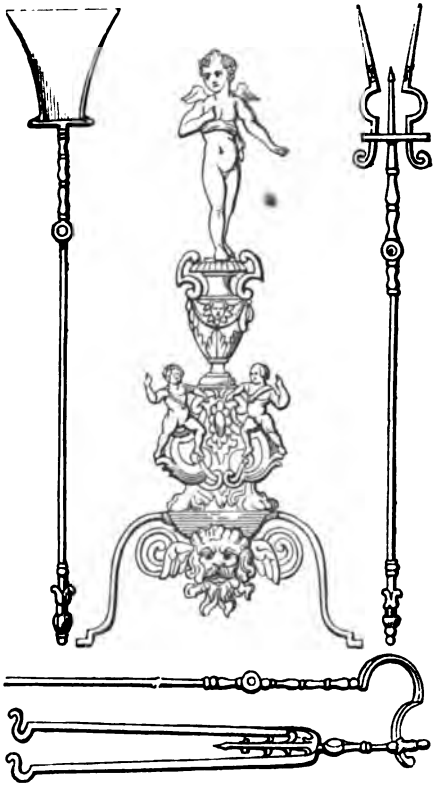
No. 279. Fireplace in the Great Hall at Penſhurſt, Kent.

pied the centre of the hall, where there was a ſmall, low platform of ſtone. This is diſtinctly ſeen in the preceding view of the interior of the hall of St. Croſs. In our cut No. 279 we give another example of this kind of fireplace,

fireplace, from the hall at Penſhurſt in Kent, where it is ſtill occupied by the iron dogs, or andirons, that ſupported the fuel. It may be obſerved that theſe latter, in the north of England and in ſome other parts, were called cobirons.

The implements attached to the fireplace had hitherto been few in number, and ſimple in character, but they now became more numerous. In the inventories previous to the ſixteenth century they are ſeldom mentioned at all, and the gloſſaries ſpeak only of tongs and bellows. In the will of John Baret of Bury, made in 1463, "a payre of tongys and a payre belwys" are mentioned. John Hedge, a large houſeholder of the ſame town in 1504, ſpeaks of "ſpytts, rakks, cobernys, aundernnys, trevettes, tongs, with all other iryn werkes moveabyll within my houſe longying." This would ſeem to ſhow that cobirons and andirons were not identical, and it has been ſuppoſed that the former denomination belonged more particularly to the reſts for ſupporting the ſpit. The ſchoolmaſter of Bury, in 1552, bequeathed to his hoſteſs, "my cobbornes, the fire pany (*? pan*), and the tonges." If we turn to the north, we find in the collection of wills publiſhed by the Surtees Society a more frequent enumeration of the fire implements. William Blakeſon, prebendary of Durham, poſſeſſed in 1549 only "a payre of cobyrons and one payre of tongys." In 1551, William Lawſon, of Newcaſtle-on-Tyne, had in his hall "one yryn chymney, and a poor, with one paire of tonges," which are valued at the rather high ſum of thirty ſhillings. This is the firſt mention of the iron chimney, or grate, but it occurs continually after the middle of the ſixteenth century. In 1557, the "iron chymney" of the pariſh clerk of St. Andrew's in Newcaſtle was valued at twenty ſhillings. The fire implements in the hall of the farm-houſe at Weſt Runcton near Northallerton, in 1562, were "j. cryſſett, ij. rachyncrokes, j. pair of tonges, one paire off cobyrons, j. ſpeitt, one paire off potes." We find the creſſet frequently included among the implements attached to the fireplace. The racking-crook was the pothook. In 1564, John Bynley, minor canon of Durham, had in his hall "one iron chimney, with a bake (*back*), porre (a *por*, or *poker*), tongs, fier ſhoel (*fire ſhovel*), ſpette (*ſpit*), and a littell rake pertening thereto." The fire-irons in the hall

hall of Margaret Cottam, widow, of Gateſhead, in 1564, were "one iron chimney, one porr, one payre of toynges, gibcrokes, rakincroke, and racks." The gibcrokes was probably a ſort of pothook or jack. Nearly the ſame liſt of articles occurs frequently in ſubſequent inventories. In



No. 280. Ornamental Fire-irons, Sixteenth Century.

1567, a houſekeeper of Durham had among other ſuch articles "a gallous (*gallows*) of iron with iiij. crocks." The gallows was, of courſe, the croſs-bar of iron, which projected acroſs the chimney, and from which the crooks or chains with hooks at the end for ſuſtaining pots were ſuſpended;

ſuſpended; as the gallows turned upon hinges, the pot could be moved over the fire, or from it, at pleaſure, without being taken from the hook, and as the crooks, of which there were uſually more than one, were of different lengths, the pot might be placed lower to the fire or higher from it, at will. From the character of ſome of theſe adjuncts to the fireplace, it is evident that the hall fire was frequently uſed for cooking. The ſixteenth century was the period at which ornamentation was carried to a very high degree in every deſcription of houſehold utenſil, and to judge from the valuation of ſome of theſe articles in the inventories, they were no doubt of elegant or elaborate work. Numerous examples of ornamental ironwork, ſpecially applied to fire-dogs or andirons, will be found in Mr. M. A. Lower's intereſting paper on the ironworks of Suſſex; and many others, ſtill more elaborate, are preſerved in ſome of our old gentlemen's houſes in different parts of the country; but this ornamentation was carried to a far higher degree in the great manufactories on the continent, from whence our countrymen in the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries obtained a large portion of their richer furniture. The figure in the middle of the group of fire-irons repreſented in our cut No. 280, is an example of a fire-dog of this elaborate deſcription, preſerved in the collection of count Brancaleoni, in Paris, whence alſo the other articles in the cut are taken. Moſt of them explain themſelves; the implement to the right is a ſomewhat ſingularly formed pair of tongs; that immediately beneath the fire-dog is an inſtrument for moving the logs of wood which then ſerved as fuel. As a further example of the remarkable manner in which almoſt every domeſtic article was at this period adorned, we may point out a box-iron, for ironing linen, &c. (cut No. 281), which is alſo preſerved in one of the French collections; ſuch an article was of courſe not made to be expoſed to the action of the fire, and this circumſtance gave riſe to the contrivance

No. 281. A Box-iron, Sixteenth Century.

contrivance of forming it into a box, with a ſeparate iron which was to be heated and placed inſide.

The fire-irons, as we find them enumerated in writings or pictured in engravings, appear to have formed the ſame liſt, or nearly ſo, though of courſe differing in form and ornament according to the varying faſhions of the day, until at a conſiderably later period they were reduced to the modern trio of ſhovel, poker, and tongs. The ſingle pothook, with a contrivance for lengthening it and ſhortening it, is ſhown in our cut No. 282, taken from one of the remarkable wood engravings in "Der Weiſs Kunig,"—a ſeries of prints illuſtrative of the youthful life of

No. 282. Fireplace and Pothook.

Maximilian I. of Germany, who aſcended the imperial throne in 1493. The engravings are of the ſixteenth century, and the form of the fireplace belongs altogether to the age of the Renaiſſance. The gallows, with its pothooks or crokes of different lengths, appears in our cut No. 283, taken from Barclay's "Ship of Fools," the edition of 1570, though the deſign is ſomewhat older. The method of attaching the crooks to one ſide of the fireplace, when not in uſe, is exhibited in this engraving, as alſo the mode in which other ſmaller utenſils were attached to the walls. In this latter inſtance there are no dogs or andirons in the fireplace,

fireplace, but the pot or boiler is ſimply placed upon the fire, without other ſupport. There were, however, other methods of placing the pot upon the fire; and in one of the curious wooden ſculptures in the church of Kirby Thorpe, in Yorkſhire, repreſenting a cook cleaning his diſhes,

No. 283. The Fireplace and its uſes.

No. 284. A Cook cleaning his Diſhes.

the boiler is placed over the fire in a ſort of four-legged frame, as repreſented in the annexed cut No. 284.

Early in the ſeventeenth century the fireplace had taken nearly its preſent form, although the dogs or andirons had not yet been ſuperſeded by the grate, which, however, had already come into uſe. This later form of the fireplace is ſhown in our cut No. 285, taken from one of an intereſting ſeries of prints, executed by the French artiſt, Abraham Boſſe, in the year 1633. It repreſents a domeſtic party frying fritters in Lent. One of the dogs is ſeen at the foot of the opening of the fireplace.

In the ſixteenth century, the articles of furniture in the hall continued to be much the ſame as in the century preceding. It continued to be furniſhed with hangings of tapeſtry, but they ſeem not always to have been in uſe; and they were ſtill placed not abſolutely againſt the

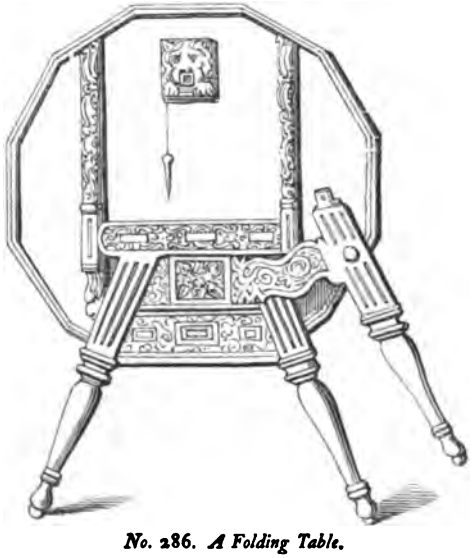
No. 285. Frying Fritters.

wall, but apparently at a little diſtance from it, ſo that people might conceal themſelves behind them. If the hall was not a very large one, a table was placed in the middle, with a long bench on each ſide. There was generally a cupboard, or a "hutch," if not more, with ſide tables, one or more chairs, and perhaps a ſettle, according to the taſte or means of the poſſeſſor. We hear now alſo of tables with leaves, and of folding tables, as well as of counters, or deſks, for writing, and dreſſers, or ſmall cupboards. The two latter articles were evidently, from their names, borrowed from the French. Cuſhions were alſo kept in the hall,

hall, for the ſeats of the principal perſons of the houſehold, or for the females. The furniture of the hall of William Lawſon, of Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne, in 1551, conſiſted of one table of wainſcot, valued at twenty ſhillings, two double counters, valued together at thirty ſhillings, a drawer and two forms, eſtimated at five ſhillings, two cuſhions and two chairs, alſo valued at five ſhillings, five other cuſhions, valued at twelve ſhillings, two carpet cloths and a cupboard cloth, valued together at ten ſhillings, and the hangings in the hall, eſtimated to be worth fifty ſhillings. This ſeems to have been a very well furniſhed hall; that of Robert Goodchild, pariſh clerk of St. Andrew's in Newcaſtle, in 1557, contained an almery (or large cupboard), eſtimated at ten ſhillings; a counter "of the myddell bynde," ſix ſhillings; a cupboard, three ſhillings and fourpence; five baſins and ſix lavers, eight ſhillings; ſeventeen "powder (*pewter*) doblers," ſeventeen ſhillings; ſix pewter diſhes and a hand-baſin, five ſhillings; ſix pewter ſaucers, eighteen pence; four pottle pots, five ſhillings and fourpence, three pint pots and three quart pots, three ſhillings; ten candleſticks, ſix ſhillings; a little peſtle and a mortar, two ſhillings; three old chairs, eighteen pence; ſix old cuſhions, two ſhillings; and two counter-cloths. Much of the furniture of Engliſh houſes at this time was imported from Flanders. Jane Lawſon, in the year laſt mentioned, had in her hall at Little Burdon in Northumberland, "Flanders counters with their carpets." She had alſo in the hall, a long ſide table, three long forms and another form, two chairs, three ſtools, ſix new cuſhions and three old cuſhions, and an almery. The whole furniture of the hall of the rectory houſe of Sedgefield in Durham, which appears to have been a large houſe and well entertained, conſiſted of a table of plane-tree with joined frame, two tables of fir with frames, two forms, a ſettle, and a pair of treſtles. The hall of Bertram Anderſon, a rich and diſtinguiſhed merchant and alderman of Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne, in 1570, was furniſhed with two tables with the carpets (*table-covers*), three forms, one dozen cuſhions, half-a-dozen green cuſhions, one counter with the carpet, two "baſinges" (*baſins*), and two covers, one chair, and one little chair. This is a ſtriking proof of the rarity of chairs even at this late date. Buffet ſtools, which are ſuppoſed to be the ſtools with a flat top and a hole in the

the middle through which the hand might be paſſed to lift them, are alſo mentioned among the articles of furniture in the hall at this period. The furniture of the hall at the manor-houſe of Croxdale, in the county of Durham, in the year 1571, conſiſted of one cupboard, one table, two buffet ſtools, and one chair; yet Salvin of Croxdale was looked upon as one of the principal gentry of the Palatinate. In enumerating the furniture of the ancient hall, we muſt not forget the arms which were uſually diſplayed there, eſpecially by ſuch as had dependent upon them a certain number of men whom it was their duty or their pride to arm. The hall of a rich merchant of Newcaſtle, named John Wilkinſon, contained in 1571, the following furniture: one almery, one table of wainſcot, one counter, one little counter, one dreſſer of wainſcot, one "pulk," three chairs, three forms, three buffet ſtools, ſix cuſhions of tapeſtry, ſix old cuſhions of tapeſtry, ſix green cuſhions, two long carpet cloths, two ſhort carpet cloths, one ſay carpet cloth, the "hyngars" in the hall, on the almery head one baſin and ewer, one great charger, three new "doblers," one little cheſt for ſugar, and one pair of wainſcot tables; and of arms, two jacks, three ſallets of iron, one bow and two ſheaves of arrows, three bills, and two halberts. Some of the entries in theſe inventories are amuſing; and, while ſpeaking of arms, it may be ſtated, that a widow lady of Bury, Mary Chapman, who would appear to have been a warlike dame, making her will in 1649, leaves to one of her ſons, among other things, "alſo *my* muſkett, reſt, bandileers, ſword, and headpiece, *my* jacke, a fine paire of ſheets, and a hutche." In 1577, Thomas Liddell, merchant of Newcaſtle, had in his hall, "three tables of waynſcoot, ſex qwyſhons of tapeſtery, a cowborde, three wainſcoot formes, two chayrs, three green table clothes, fower footſtoles, ſixe quyſhons, two candleſticks, a louckinge glaſſe, ſexe danſke pootts of powther (*pewter*), two baſings, and two vewers (*ewers*), a laver and a baſinge, fyve buffatt ſtules." It is curious thus to trace the furniture of the hall at different periods, and compare them together; and we cannot but remark from the frequency with which the epithet *old* is applied to different articles, towards the end of the century that the hall was beginning rapidly to fall into diſuſe. The cauſe of this was no doubt the increaſing taſte for domeſtic

domeſtic retirement, and the wiſh to withdraw from the publicity which had always attended the hall, and it gradually became the mere entrance lobby of the houſe, the place where ſtrangers or others were allowed to remain until their preſence had been announced, which is the ſenſe in which we commonly uſe the word hall, as part of the houſe, at the preſent day. In the enumeration of the parts of a houſe given in the Engliſh edition of Comenius's "Janua Linguarum," in the middle of the ſeventeenth century, there is no mention of a hall. "A houſe," we are told in this quaint book, "is divided into inner rooms, ſuch as are the entry, the ſtove, the kitchen, the buttery, the dining-room, the gallery, the bed-chamber, with a privy made by it; baſkets are of uſe for carrying things to and fro; and cheſts (which are made faſt with a key) for keeping them. The floor is under the roof. In the yard is a well, a ſtable, and a bath. Under the houſe is the cellar."



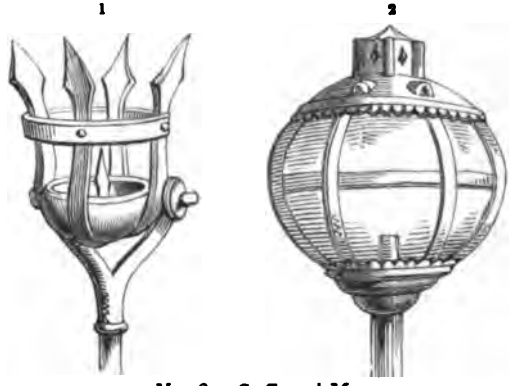
No. 286. A Folding Table.

It has already been remarked that tables with leaves began to be mentioned frequently after the commencement of the ſixteenth century.

Andrew

Andrew Cranewiſe, of Bury, in 1558, enumerates "one cupborde in the hall, one plaine table with one leafe." He ſpeaks further on, in the ſame will, of "my beſt folte (*fold or folding*) table in the hall, and two great hutches." In 1556, Richard Claxton, of Old Park, in the county of Durham, ſpeaks of a "folden table" in the parlours, which was valued at two ſhillings. Theſe folding tables appear to have been made in a great variety of forms, ſome of which were very ingenious. Our cut No. 286 repreſents a very curious folding table of the ſixteenth century, which was long preſerved at Flaxton Hall, in Suffolk, but periſhed in the fire when that manſion was burnt a few years ago. As repreſented in the cut, which ſhows the table folded up ſo as to be laid aſide, the legs pull out, and the one to the right fits into the lion's mouth, and is ſecured by the pin which hangs beſide it.

The methods of lighting the hall at night were ſtill rather clumſy, and not very perfect. Of courſe, when the apartment was very large, a few candles would produce comparatively little effect, and it was therefore found neceſſary to uſe torches, and inflammable maſſes of larger ſize.



No. 287. Creſſet and Moon.

One method of ſupplying the deficiency was to take a ſmall pan, or portable fireplace, filled with combuſtibles, and ſuſpend it in the place where light was required. Such a receptacle was uſually placed at the top of a pole, for facility of carrying about, and was called a creſſet, from an old French

French word which meant a night-lamp. The creſſet is mentioned by Shakeſpeare and other writers as though it were chiefly uſed in proceſſions at night, and by watchmen and guides. The firſt figure in our cut No. 287, taken from Douce's "Illuſtrations of Shakeſpeare," repreſents one of the creſſets carried by the marching watch of London in the ſixteenth century. From the continual mention of the creſſet along with the fire-irons of the hall, in the wills publiſhed by the Surtees Society, we can hardly doubt its being uſed, at leaſt in the north of England, for lighting the hall itſelf. An improvement of the common creſſet conſiſted in encloſing the flame, by whatever material it was fed, in a caſe made of ſome tranſparent ſubſtance, ſuch as horn, and thus making it neither more nor leſs than a large lantern fixed on the end of a pole. The form of this implement was generally globular, and, no doubt from its appearance when carried in the night, it was denominated a *moon*. The "moon" was carried by ſervants before the carriages of their maſters, to guide them along country lanes, and under other ſimilar circumſtances. The ſecond figure in our cut No. 287 repreſents a "moon" which was formerly preſerved at Ightham Moat Houſe, in Kent; the frame was of braſs, and the covering of horn. To aſſiſt in lighting the hall, ſometimes candleſticks were fixed to the walls round the hall, and this perhaps will explain the rather large number of candleſticks ſometimes enumerated among the articles in that part of the houſe. In our cut No. 282, we have an example of a candleſtick placed on a frame, which, turning on a pivot or hinges, may be turned back againſt the wall when not in uſe.

During the period of which we are now ſpeaking, almoſt everything connected with the table underwent great change. This was leaſt the caſe with regard to the hours of meals. The uſual hour of breakfaſt was ſeven o'clock in the morning, and ſeems ſcarcely to have varied. During the ſixteenth century, the hour of dinner was eleven o'clock, or juſt four hours after breakfaſt. "With us," ſays Harriſon in his deſcription of England, prefixed to Holinſhed's Chronicle, "the nobilitie, gentrie, and ſtudents (he means the Univerſities), doo ordinarilie go to dinner at eleven before noone, and to ſupper at five, or between five and ſixe, at afternoone." Before the end of the century, however, the dinner hour appears

appears to have varied between eleven and twelve. In a book entitled the "Haven of Health," written by a phyſician named Cogan, and printed in 1584, we are told: "When foure houres be paſt after breake-faſt, a man may ſafely take his dinner, and the moſt convenient time for dinner is about eleven of the clocke before noone. The uſual time for dinner in the univerſities is at eleven, or elſewhere about noon." In Beaumont and Fletcher, the hour of dinner was ſtill eleven; "I never come into my dining-room," ſays Merrythought, in the "Knight of the Burning Peſtle," "but at eleven and ſix o'clock." "What hour is't, Lollis?" aſks a character in the "Changeling," by their contemporary Middleton. "Towards eating-hour, ſir." "Dinner time? thou mean'ſt twelve o'clock." And other writers at the beginning of the ſeventeenth century ſpeak of twelve o'clock and ſeven as the hours of dinner and ſupper. This continued to be the uſual hour of dinner at the cloſe of the ſame century.

During the reign of Elizabeth, and afterwards, perſons of both ſexes appear to have broken their faſt in the ſame ſubſtantial manner as was obſerved by the Percies at the beginning of the century, and as deſcribed in a previous chapter; yet, though generally but four hours interpoſed between this and the hour of dinner, people ſeem to have thought it neceſſary to take a ſmall luncheon in the interval, which, no doubt from its conſiſting chiefly in drinking, was called a *bever*. "At ten," ſays a character in one of Middleton's plays, "we drink, that's mouth-hour; at eleven, lay about us for victuals, that's hand-hour; at twelve, go to dinner, that's eating-hour." "Your gallants," ſays Appetitus, in the old play of "Lingua," "never ſup, breakfaſt, nor bever without me."

The dinner was the largeſt and moſt ceremonious meal of the day. The hearty character of this meal is remarked by a foreign traveller in England, who publiſhed his "Mémoires et Obſervations" in French in 1698. "Les Anglois," he tells us, "mangent beaucoup à diner; ils mangent à repriſes, et rempliſſent le ſac. Leur ſouper eſt leger. Gloutons à midi, fort ſobres au ſoir." In the ſixteenth century, dinner ſtill began with the ſame ceremonious waſhing of hands as formerly; and there was conſiderable oſtentation in the ewers and baſins uſed for this purpoſe.

Our

Our cut No. 288 repreſents ornamental articles of this deſcription, of the ſixteenth century, taken from an engraving in Whitney's "Emblems," printed in 1586. This cuſtom was rendered more neceſſary by the circumſtance that at table people of all ranks uſed their fingers for the purpoſes to which we now apply a fork. This article was not uſed in England for the purpoſe to which it is now applied, until the reign of James I. It is true that we have inſtances of forks even ſo far back as the pagan Anglo-Saxon period, but they are often found coupled with ſpoons, and on conſidering all the circumſtances, I am led to the conviction that they were in no inſtance uſed for feeding, but merely for ſerving, as we ſtill ſerve ſalad and other articles, taking them out of baſin or diſh with a fork and ſpoon. In fact, to thoſe who have not been taught the uſe of it, a fork muſt neceſſarily be a very awkward and inconvenient inſtrument. We know that the uſe of forks came from Italy, the country to which England owed many of the new faſhions of the beginning of the ſeventeenth century. It is curious to read Coryat's account of the uſage of forks at table as he firſt ſaw it in that country in the courſe of his travels. "I obſerved," ſays he, "a cuſtome in all thoſe Italian cities and townes through which I paſſed, that is not uſed in any other country that I ſaw in my travels, neither doe I thinke that any other nation of Chriſtendome doth uſe it, but only Italy. The Italian, and alſo moſt ſtrangers that are commorant in Italy, doe alwaies at their meales uſe a little forke, when they cut their meate. For while with their knife which they hold in one hande they cut the meat out of the diſh, they faſten their forke, which they hold in their other hande, upon the ſame diſh, ſo that whatſoever he be that ſitting in the company of any others at meale, ſhould unadviſedly touch the diſh of meate with his fingers, from which all at the table do cut, he will give occaſion of offence unto the company, as having tranſgreſſed the lawes of good manners, inſomuch that for his error

No. 288. A Baſin and Ewer, Sixteenth Century.

he ſhall be at the leaſt brow-beaten, if not reprehended in wordes. This forme of feeding I underſtand is generally uſed in all places of Italy, their forkes being for the moſt part made of yron or ſteele, and ſome of ſilver, but thoſe are uſed only by gentlemen. The reaſon of this their curioſity is, becauſe the Italian cannot by any means indure to have his diſh touched with fingers, ſeeing all men's fingers are not alike cleane. Hereupon I myſelf thought good to imitate the Italian faſhion by this forked cutting of meate, not only while I was in Italy, but alſo in Germany, and oftentimes in England ſince I came home; being once quipped for that frequent uſing of my forke by a certain learned gentleman, a familiar friend of mine, one Mr. Lawrence Whittaker, who in his merry humour doubted not to call me at table *furcifer*, only for uſing a forke at feeding, but for no other cauſe." *Furcifer*, in Latin, it need hardly be obſerved, meant literally one who carries a fork, but its proper ſignification was, a villain who deſerves the gallows.

The uſage of forks thus introduced into England, appears ſoon to have become common. It is alluded to more than once in Beaumont and Fletcher, and in Ben Jonſon, but always as a foreign faſhion. In Jonſon's comedy of "The Devil is an Aſs," we have the following dialogue: —

> **Meere.** *Have I deſerv'd this from you two, for all*
> *My pains at court to get you each a patent?*
> **Gilt.** *For what?*
> **Meere.** *Upon my project o' the forks.*
> **Sie.** *Forks? what be they?*
> **Meere.** *The laudable uſe of forks,*
> *Brought into cuſtom here, as they are in Italy,*
> *To th' ſparing o' napkins.*

In fact the new invention rendered the waſhing of hands no longer ſo neceſſary as before, and though it was ſtill continued as a polite form before ſitting down to dinner, the practice of waſhing the hands after dinner appears to have been entirely diſcontinued.

Our cut No. 289, taken from the Engliſh edition of the Janua Linguarum of Comenius, repreſents the forms of dining in England under the Protectorate. It will be beſt deſcribed by the text which accompanies it in the book, and in which each particular object is mentioned.

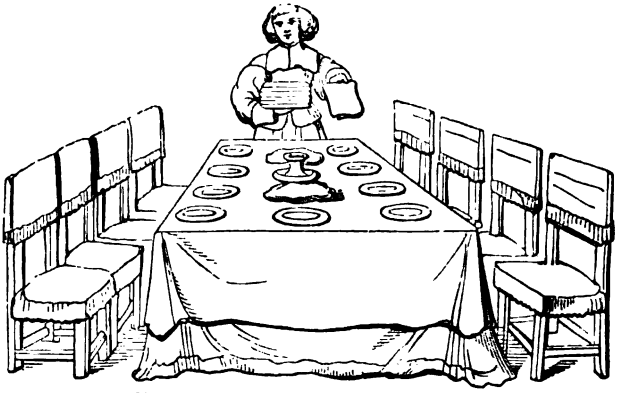
"When

"When a feaſt is made ready," we are told, "the table is covered with a carpet and a table-cloth by the waiters, who beſides lay the trenchers, ſpoons, knives, with little forks, table napkins, bread, with a ſaltſellar. Meſſes are brought in platters, a pie in a plate. The gueſts being brought

No. 289. A Dinner Party in the Seventeenth Century.

in by the hoſt, waſh their hands, out of a laver or ewer, over a hand-baſin, or bowl, and wipe them with a hand-towel; then they ſit at the table on chairs. The carver breaketh up the good cheer, and divideth it. Sauces are ſet amongſt roſte-meat in ſawſers. The butler filleth ſtrong wine out of a cruſe, or wine-pot, or flagon, into cups, or glaſſes, which ſtand on a cup-board, and he reacheth them to the maſter of the feaſt, who drinketh to his gueſts." It will be obſerved that one ſalt-cellar is here placed in the middle of the table. This was the uſual cuſtom; and, as one long table had been ſubſtituted for the ſeveral tables formerly ſtanding in the hall, the ſalt-cellar was conſidered to divide the table into two diſtinct parts, gueſts of more diſtinction being placed above the ſalt, while the places below the ſalt were aſſigned to inferiors and dependants. This uſage is often alluded to in the old dramatiſts. Thus, in Ben Jonſon, it is ſaid of a man who treats his inferiors with ſcorn, "he never drinks *below the ſalt*," *i. e.*, he never exchanges civilities with thoſe who ſit at the

the lower end of the table. And in a contemporary writer, it is deſcribed as a mark of preſumption in an inferior member of the houſehold "to ſit above the ſalt." Our cut No. 290, taken from an engraving by the French artiſt, Abraham Boſſe, publiſhed in 1633, repreſents one of the



No. 290. Laying out the Dinner-table, 1633.

firſt ſteps in the laying out of the dinner-table. The plates, it will be ſeen, are laid, and the ſalt-cellar is duly placed in the middle of the table. The ſervant is now placing the napkins—

> *The pages ſpred a table out of hand,*
> *And brought forth nap'ry rich, and plate more rich.*—Harrington's Ariosto, lxii. 71.

The earlier half of the ſixteenth century was the period when the pageantry of feaſting was carried to its greateſt degree of ſplendour. In the houſes of the noble and wealthy, the dinner itſelf was laid out with great pomp, was almoſt always accompanied with muſic, and was not unfrequently interrupted with dances, mummings, and maſquerades. A picture of a grand feaſt carried on in this manner is given in one of the illuſtrations to the German work on the exploits of the emperor Maximilian, publiſhed at the time under the title of "Der Weiſs Kunig." An abridged copy of this engraving is given in our cut No. 291. The table profuſely furniſhed, the rich diſplay of plate on the cupboards, the band in front, and the mummers entering the hall, are all ſtrikingly cha-

racteriſtic

racteriſtic of the age. The dreſſer, or cupboard, was now one of the great means of diſplay among the higher orders of ſociety, who inveſted vaſt wealth in its furniture, conſiſting of veſſels made of the precious

No. 291. *Mummers at a Feaſt.*

metals and of cryſtal, ſometimes ſet with precious ſtones, and often adorned with the moſt beautiful ſculpture, or moulded into ſingular or elaborate forms. So much attention was given to the arrangement of the

the plate on the dreſſer, and to the ceremonies attending it, that it was made a point of etiquette how many ſteps, or gradations, on which the rows of plate were raiſed one above another, members of each particular rank of ſociety might have on their cupboards. Thus, a prince of royal blood only might have five ſteps to his cupboard; four were allowed to nobles of the higheſt rank, three to nobles under that of duke, two to knights-bannerets, and one to perſons who were merely of gentle blood. Theſe rules, however, were probably not univerſally obeyed. It was the duty of the butler to have charge of the plate in the hall, and his ſtation there was uſually at the ſide of the cupboard, as in the engraving taken from "Der Weiſs Kunig" (No. 291). Comparatively few examples of the domeſtic plate of an early period have ſurvived the revolutions of ſo many ages, during which they were often melted for the metal, and thoſe which remain are chiefly in the poſſeſſion of corporations or public bodies; but ſeveral fine collections of the ornamental plate of the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries have been made, and among theſe one of the beſt and moſt intereſting is that of the late lord Londeſborough, now in the poſſeſſion of lady Londeſborough.*

A dinner ſcene on a ſmaller ſcale is repreſented in our next cut (No. 292), copied from one in which Albert Durer repreſents Herodias dancing and performing before Herod at his ſolitary meal. This pageantry at dinner was ſucceeded, and apparently ſoon ſuperſeded, in the higher ſociety by maſques after dinner, which continued to be very faſhionable until the breaking out of the civil commotions in the middle of the ſeventeenth century. During the period of the Protectorate and the Commonwealth, the forms of eating and drinking were much ſim-

* The reader who wishes for further information on the ornamental plate of the middle ages, and especially of the age of the Renaissance and succeeding period, may consult with advantage lord Londesborough's handsome and valuable volume, the "Miscellanea Graphica," and the "Illustrated Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Antique Silver Plate formed by Albert, lord Londesborough, now the property of lady Londesborough," printed by her ladyship for private distribution; the latter of which contains no less than a hundred and fourteen examples of ornamental plate excellently engraved by Mr. Fairholt, among which are several fine examples of the nef, or ship.

plified,

plified, and all that expenſive oſtentation, which had ariſen in the high times of feudal power, and had become burthenſome to the ariſtocracy after it had been weakened by the reigns of the Tudors, diſappeared.

The regular order of ſervice at dinner ſeems to have been ſtill three courſes, each conſiſting of a number and variety of diſhes, according to

No. 292. Herodias dancing before Herod.

the richneſs of the entertainment. To judge from the early cookery books, which have been deſcribed in a former chapter, our anceſtors, previous to the ſixteenth century, in the better claſſes of ſociety, were not in the habit of placing ſubſtantial joints on the table, but inſtead of them had a great variety of made diſhes, a conſiderable proportion of which were eaten with a ſpoon. At the tables of the great, there was a large attendance

attendance of ſervants, and the gueſts were counted off not, as before, in couples, but in fours, each four being conſidered as one party, under the title of a *meſs*, and probably having a diſh among them, and ſerved by one attendant. This cuſtom is often alluded to in the dramatiſts, and it is hardly neceſſary to obſerve that it was the origin of our modern term in the army. The plate, as well as the porcelain and earthenware, uſed at table during the greater part of this period, was ſo richly diverſified, that it would require a volume to deſcribe it, nor would it be eaſy to pick out a ſmall number of examples that might illuſtrate the whole. Our

No. 293. *Knife-caſes.*

cut No. 293 repreſents a peculiar article of this period, which is not undeſerving of remark, two knife-caſes, made of leather, ſtamped and gilt.

From what has been ſaid, it will be ſeen that our popular ſaying of "the roaſt beef of old England," is not ſo literally true as we are accuſtomed to ſuppoſe. While, however, the ſtyle of living we have been deſcribing prevailed generally among the higher ranks and the richer portion of the middle claſſes, particularly in towns, that of the leſs affluent claſſes remained ſimple and even ſcanty, and a large portion of the population of the country probably indulged in fleſh meat only at intervals, or on occaſions when they received it in their lord's kitchen or hall.

hall. A few plain jugs, ſuch as thoſe repreſented in our cut No. 294, taken from a wooden ſculpture in the church of Kirby Thorpe, in Yorkſhire, with platters or trenchers in pewter or wood, formed the whole table ſervice of the inferior claſſes. It was the revolution in the middle of the ſeventeenth century which firſt aboliſhed this extravagant oſtentation, and brought into faſhion a plainer table and more ſubſtantial meats. A foreigner, who had been much in England in the latter part of the ſeventeenth century, and publiſhed his obſervations in French at the Hague in 1698, tells us that the Engliſh of that period were great eaters of meat—"I have heard," ſays he, "of many people in England who have never eaten bread, and ordinarily they eat very little; they nibble ſometimes a little bit, while they eat fleſh by great mouthfuls. Generally ſpeaking, the tables are not ſerved with delicacy in England. There are ſome great lords who have French and Engliſh cooks, and where you are ſerved much in the French faſhion; but among perſons of the middle condition of which I am ſpeaking, they have ten or twelve ſorts of common meat, which infallibly come round again in their turns at different times, and of two diſhes of which their dinner is compoſed, as for inſtance, a pudding, and a piece of roaſt beef. Sometimes they will have a piece boiled, and then it has always lain in ſalt ſome days, and is flanked all round with five or ſix mounds of cabbage, carrots, turnips, or ſome other herbs or roots, ſeaſoned with ſalt and pepper, with melted butter poured over them. At other times they will have a leg of mutton, roaſted or boiled, and accompanied with the ſame delicacies; poultry, ſucking pigs, tripe, and beef tongues, rabbits, pigeons, all well ſoaked with butter, without bacon. Two of theſe diſhes, always ſerved one after the other, make the ordinary dinner of a good gentleman, or of a good burgher. When they have boiled meat, there is ſometimes ſomebody who takes a fancy to broth, which conſiſts of the water

No. 294. Drinking Veſſels.

water in which the meat has been boiled, mixed with a little oatmeal, with ſome leaves of thyme, or ſage, or other ſuch ſmall herbs. The pudding is a thing which it would be difficult to deſcribe, on account of the diverſity of ſorts. Flour, milk, eggs, butter, ſugar, fat, marrow, raſins, &c. &c., are the more common ingredients of a pudding. It is baked in an oven; or boiled with the meat; or cooked in fifty other faſhions. And they are grateful for the invention of puddings, for it is a manna to everybody's taſte, and a better manna than that of the deſſert, inaſmuch as they are never tired of it. Oh! what an excellent thing is an Engliſh pudding! *To come in pudding time*, is a proverbial phraſe, meaning, to come at the happieſt moment in the world. Make a pudding for an Engliſhman, and you will regale him be he where he will. Their deſſert needs no mention, for it conſiſts only of a bit of cheeſe. Fruit is only found at the houſes of great people, and only among few of them." The phraſe, "to come in pudding time," occurs as early as the beginning of the ſeventeenth century.

The abſence of the deſſert at the Engliſh table, of which the writer juſt quoted complains, aroſe from the abandonment in the middle of the ſeventeenth century of an old cuſtom. In the earlier part of that century, and in the century previous, when the company roſe from the dinner-table, they proceeded to what was then called the *banquet*, which was held in another apartment, and often in an arbour in the garden, or, as it was called, the garden-houſe. The *banquet* of an earlier period, the fifteenth century, was, as we have already ſeen, a meal after ſupper. In Maſſinger's play of the "City Madam," a ſumptuous dinner is deſcribed as follows:—

The diſhes were raiſed one upon another,
As woodmongers do billets, for the firſt,
The ſecond, and third courſe; and moſt of the ſhops
Of the beſt confectioners in London ranſack'd
To furniſh out a banquet.

In another of Maſſinger's dramas, one of the characters ſays:—

We'll dine in the great room, but let the muſick
And banquet be prepared here.

It

It appears, therefore, that the banquet was often accompanied with muſic. At the banquet the choice wines were brought forth, and the table was covered with paſtry and ſweetmeats, of which our forefathers at this period appear to have been extremely fond. A uſual article at the banquet was marchpanes, or biſcuits made of ſugar and almonds, in different fanciful forms, ſuch as men, animals, houſes, &c. There was generally one at leaſt in the form of a caſtle, which the ladies and gentlemen were to batter to pieces in frolic, by attacking it with ſugar-plums. Taylor, the water-poet, calls them—

Caſtles for ladies, and for carpet knights,
Unmercifully ſpoil'd at feaſting fights,
Where battering bullets are fine ſugred plums.

On feſtive occaſions, and among people who loved to paſs their time at table, the regular banquet ſeems to have been followed by a ſecond, or, as it was called, a *rere-banquet.* Theſe rere-banquets are mentioned by the later Elizabethan writers, generally as extravagances, and ſometimes with the epithet of "late," ſo that perhaps they took the place of the ſoberer ſupper. People are ſpoken of as taking "ſomewhat plentifully of wine" at theſe rere-banquets. The rere-ſupper was ſtill in uſe, and appears alſo to have been a meal diſtinguiſhed by its profuſion both in eating and drinking. It was from the rere-ſupper that the roaring-boys, and other wild gallants of the earlier part of the ſeventeenth century, ſallied forth to create noiſe and riot in the ſtreets.

One of the great characteriſtics of the dinner-table at this period was the formality of drinking, eſpecially that of drinking healths, ſo much cried down by the Puritans. This formality was enforced with great ſtrictneſs and ceremony. It was not exactly the modern practice of giving a toaſt, but each perſon in turn roſe, named ſome one to whom he individually drank (not one of the perſons preſent), and emptied his cup. "He that begins the health," we are told in a little book publiſhed in 1623, "firſt, uncovering his head, he takes a full cup in his hand, and ſetting his countenance with a grave aſpect, he craves for audience; ſilence being once obtained, he begins to breathe out the name, peradventure,

adventure, of ſome honourable perſonage, whoſe health is drunk to, and he that pledges muſt likewiſe off with his cap, kiſs his fingers, and bow himſelf in ſign of a reverent acceptance. When the leader ſees his follower thus prepared, he ſups up his broth, turns the bottom of the cup upward, and, in oſtentation of his dexterity, gives the cup a phillip to make it cry twango. And thus the firſt ſcene is acted. The cup being newly repleniſhed to the breadth of a hair, he that is the pledger muſt now begin his part, and thus it goes round throughout the whole company." In order to aſcertain that each perſon had fairly drunk off his cup, in turning it up he was to pour all that remained in it on his nail, and if there were too much to remain as a drop on the nail without running off, he was made to drink his cup full again. This was termed drinking on the nail, for which convivialiſts invented a mock Latin phraſe, and called it drinking *ſuper nagulum*, or *ſuper-naculum*.

This cuſtom of pledging in drinking was as old as the times of the Anglo-Saxons, when it exiſted in the "wæs heil" and "drinc heil," commemorated in the ſtory of the Britiſh Vortigern and the Saxon Rowena, and it is alluded to in ſeveral ballads of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as in that of "King Edward and the Shepherd," where the man who drinks pledges his companion with the word "paſſelodion," and the other replies by "berafrynde," and in that of "The Kyng and the Hermyt," where the words of pledging and reply are "fuſty bandyas," and "ſtryke pautnere." Both theſe ballads are printed in Hartſhorne's "Ancient Metrical Tales." The drinking of the healths of abſent individuals appears to have been introduced at a later period, and was carried to its greateſt degree of extravagance on the continent. The perſon whoſe health a man gave was uſually expected to be his miſtreſs; and in France he was expected, in doing this, to drink as many times his glaſs or cup full of wine as there were letters in her name. Thus, in Ronſard's "Bacchanales," the gallant drinks nine times to his miſtreſs Caſſandre, becauſe there were nine letters in her name:—

Neuf fois, au nom de Caſſandre,
Je vois prendre
Neuf fois du vin du flacon;

Affin

Affin de neuf fois le boire
En memoire
Des neuf lettres de ſon nom.

And a leſs celebrated poet, of a rather later date, Guillaume Colletet, in a piece entitled "Le Trebuchement de l'Ivrongne," printed at Paris in 1627, introduces one of his perſonages drinking ſix times to his miſtreſs, becauſe her name was Cloris:—

Six fois je m'en vas boire au beau nom de Cloris,
Cloris, le ſeul deſir de ma chaſte penſée.

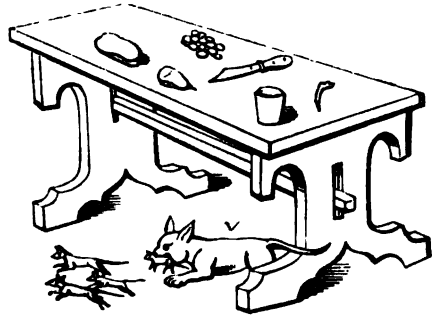
The manner of pledging at table, as it ſtill exiſted in England, is deſcribed rather ludicrouſly in the "Memoires d'Angleterre," of the year 1698, already quoted. "While in France," the author ſays, "the cuſtom of drinking healths is almoſt aboliſhed among people of any diſtinction, as being equally importunate and ridiculous, it exiſts here in all its ancient force. To drink at table, without drinking to the health of ſome one in eſpecial, among ordinary people, would be conſidered as drinking on the ſly, and as an act of incivility. There are in this proceeding two principal and ſingular grimaces, which are univerſally obſerved among people of all orders and all ſorts. It is, that the perſon to whoſe health another drinks, if he be of inferior condition, or even equal, to that of him who drinks, muſt remain as inactive as a ſtatue while the drinker drinks. If, for inſtance, he is in the act of taking ſomething from a diſh, he muſt ſuddenly ſtop, return his fork or ſpoon to its place, and wait, without ſtirring more than a ſtone, until the other has drunk; after which, the ſecond grimace is to make him an *inclinabo*, at the riſk of dipping his perriwig in the gravy in his plate. I confeſs that, when a foreigner firſt ſees theſe manners, he thinks them laughable. Nothing appears ſo droll as to ſee a man who is in the act of chewing a morſel which he has in his mouth, of cutting his bread, of wiping his mouth, or of doing anything elſe, who ſuddenly takes a ſerious air, when a perſon of ſome reſpectability drinks to his health, looks fixedly at this perſon, and becomes as motionleſs as if a univerſal paralyſis had ſeized him, or he had been ſtruck by a thunderbolt. It is true that, as good manners abſolutely demand this reſpectful

reſpectful immobility in the *patient*, it requires alſo a little circumſpection in the *agent*. When any one will drink to the health of another, he muſt fix his eye upon him for a moment, and give him the time, if it be poſſible, to ſwallow his morſel." It is hardly neceſſary to obſerve that this cuſtom is the origin of our modern practice of "taking wine" with each other at table, which is now alſo becoming obſolete.

CHAPTER XXII.

HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE.—THE PARLOUR.—THE CHAMBER.

AS ſocial peace and ſecurity became more eſtabliſhed in the country, people began to be more laviſh in all the articles of houſehold furniture, which thus became much more numerous during the period of which we are now treating. It alſo went through its faſhions and its changes, but in the progreſs of theſe changes it became leſs ponderous and more elegant. Until the middle of the ſixteenth century, and perhaps later in ſome parts of the iſland, where ſocial progreſs was ſlower, the old arrangements of a board laid upon treſtles for a table ſtill prevailed, though it was gradually diſappearing; and, although the term of "laying" the board in a literal ſenſe was no longer applicable, it has continued to be uſed figuratively, even to our own times. Richard

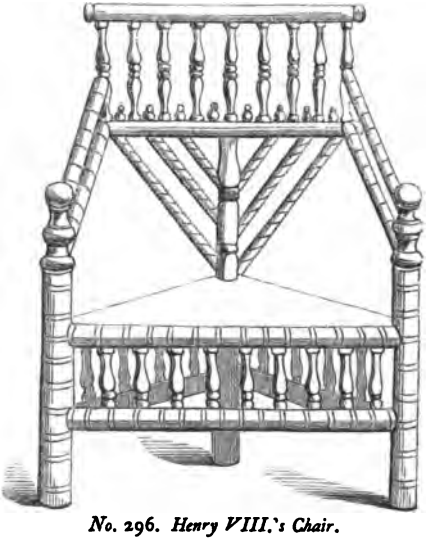


No. 295. *Table of Sixteenth Century.*

Kanam, of Soham, in the county of Cambridge, whoſe will was proved ſo late as the 12th of April, 1570, left, among other houſehold furniture, "one table with a payer of treſſels, and a thicke forme." The firſt ſtep in

in the change from tables of this kind appears to have been to fix the treſtles to the board, thus making it a permanent table. The whole was ſtrengthened by a bar running from treſtle to treſtle, and ornamental wood-work was afterwards ſubſtituted in place of the treſtles. A rather good example of a table of this deſcription is given in the cut on the preceding page (No. 295), taken from that well-known publication, the "Stultifera Navis" of Sebaſtian Brandt. This, however, was a clumſy conſtruction, and it ſoon gave way to the table with legs, the latter being uſually turned on the lathe, and ſometimes richly carved. This carving went out of uſe in the unoſtentatious days of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, to make way for plain table legs, and it never quite recovered its place.

We have ſeen already that in the latter part of the previous century, in the chairs and ſtools, the joinery work of Flanders was taking the place



No. 296. Henry VIII.'s Chair.

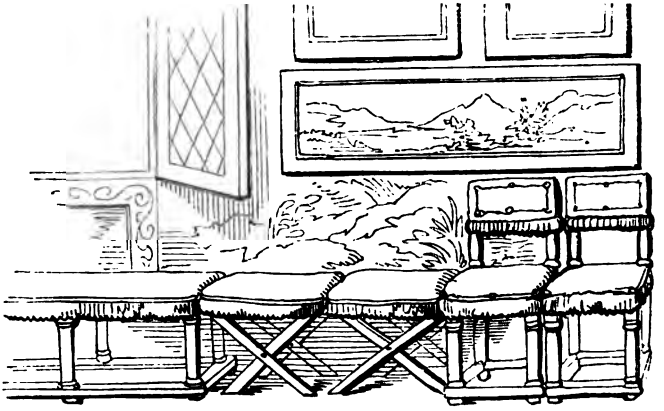
of the older rude and clumſy ſeats. This taſte ſtill prevailed in the earlier half of the ſixteenth century, and a large proportion of the furniture uſed in this country, as well as of the earthenware and other houſehold

houſehold implements, during the greater part of that century, were imported from Flanders and the Netherlands. Hence, in the abſence of engravings at home, we are led to look at the works of the Flemiſh and German artiſts for illuſtrations of domeſtic manners at this period. The ſeats of the deſcription juſt mentioned were termed joint (or joined) ſtools or chairs. A rather fine example of a chair of this work, which is, as was often the caſe, three-cornered, is preſerved in the Aſhmolean Muſeum at Oxford, where it is reported to have been the chair of Henry VIII., on what authority I know not. It is repreſented in our cut No. 296. Theſe "joined" chairs and ſtools were laid aſide for furniture of a more elegant form, which was uſed during the reign of Elizabeth and her immediate ſucceſſors, and of which examples are ſo common that it is hardly neceſſary to give one here. This faſhion appears to have been brought from France. An example of rather peculiar ſtyle is given in our cut No. 297, taken from a picture executed in 1587, repreſenting Louis de Gonzagues, duke of Nivernois.

No. 297. Chair of duke de Nivernois.

Hitherto the cuſhions were merely adjuncts to the chairs, but by another advance in convenience the cuſhion was ſoon made as a part of the chair or ſtool, which at the ſame time became ſimpler in form again. Our cut No. 298, taken from one of the prints of Abraham Boſſe, dated in 1633, repreſents the general character of the chairs and ſtools uſed in France at that date, as they are drawn in the works of this artiſt, and alſo the manner in which they were arranged round a room when not in uſe. On the left appears the end of a cuſhioned bench, which was generally of the length of two or three ſtools, and appears as a common article of furniture. Among other articles of furniture now introduced

introduced was the couch, or, as we ſhould call it, the ſofa. This was called, in the age of Shakeſpeare, a day-bed, and appears to have been in ſome diſcredit, as an article indicating exceſs of luxury. Large cupboards, uſually termed court-cupboards, and often very richly carved, were



No. 298. Stools and Chairs of the age of Charles I.

now in general uſe, for containing, under lock and key, the plate and other valuables. In alluſion to the carvings on theſe cupboards, which uſually conſiſted of faces more or leſs groteſque, and not very artiſtically executed, Corbet, in his "Iter Boreale," ſpeaks of a perſon—

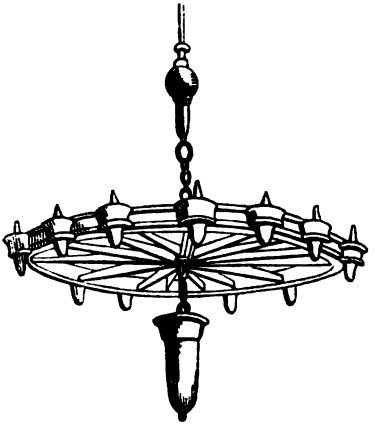
With a lean viſage, like a carv'd face
On a court-cupboard.

The ſixteenth century was eſpecially the age of tapeſtries, and no gentleman could conſider his rooms furniſhed if they wanted theſe important adjuncts. They were now elaborately worked into great hiſtorical pictures, ſacred or profane, or mythological or other ſubjects, to ſuit the varieties of taſtes. Sir John Elyot, in his "Governor," reminds his readers that "ſemblable decking oughte to bee in the houſe of a noblemanne, or man of honoure; I meane concerning ornaments of hall and chambers in arras, painted tables, and images concernynge hiſtoryes, wherein is repreſented ſome monument of vertue moſt cunningly," &c.

At

At the commencement of the ſeventeenth century this practice was already beginning to go out of faſhion, and it was not long afterwards that it was entirely laid aſide: and the walls were again covered with panels, or painted or whitewaſhed, and adorned with pictures. In our laſt cut, of the date of 1633, we ſee the walls thus decorated with paintings.

The rapid ſocial revolution which was now going on, gradually produced changes in moſt of the articles of domeſtic economy. Thus, the old ſpiked candleſtick was early in the century ſuperſeded by the modern ſocket candleſtick. The chandelier repreſented in our cut No. 299, taken from one of Albert Durer's prints of the Life of the Virgin, publiſhed in 1509, in its ſpikes for the candles and its other characteriſtics, belongs to a ruder and earlier ſtyle of houſehold furniture, and has nothing in common with the rich chandeliers which now began to be uſed.



No. 299. A Chandelier of the Sixteenth Century.

The parlour appears in the ſixteenth century to have been a room the particular uſe of which was in a ſtate of tranſition. Subſequently, as domeſtic life aſſumed greater privacy than when people lived publicly in the hall, the parlour became the living room; but in the ſixteenth century, though in London it was already uſed as the dining-room, in the country it appears to have been conſidered as a ſort of amalgamation of a ſtore-room and a bedroom. This is beſt underſtood from the different inventories of its furniture which have been preſerved. In 1558, the parlour of Robert Hyndmer, rector of Sedgefield, in the county of Durham, contained—"a table with a joined frame, two forms, and a carpet; carved cupboards; a plain cupboard; nine joined ſtools; hangings of tapeſtry; and a turned chair." In the parlour at Hilton Caſtle, in the ſame

ſame county, in 1559, there were—"one iron chimney, two tables, one counter, two chairs, one cupboard, ſix forms, two old carpets, and three old hangings." In 1564, Margaret Cottom, a widow of Gateſhead, had in her parlour—"one inner bed of wainſcot, a ſtand, a bed, a preſſer of wainſcot, three cheſts, a Dantzic coffer;" a conſiderable quantity of linen and cloth of different kinds, and for different purpoſes; "tallow candles, and wooden diſhes, a feather bed, a bolſter, and a cod (*pillow*), two coverlets, two happgings (*coverlets of a coarſer kind*), three blankets, three cods (*pillows*), with an old mattreſs; five cuſhions, a ſteel cap, and a covering; a tin bottle, a cap-caſe with a lock." In the houſe of William Dalton, a wealthy merchant of Durham in 1556, the parlour muſt have been very roomy indeed to contain all the "houſehold ſtuff" which it holds in the inventory, namely, "a chimney, with a pair of tongs; a bedſtead cloſe made; a feather bed, a pair of ſheets, a covering of apparels, an 'oveſe' bed, a covering wrought of ſilk; a cod (*pillow*), and a pillowbere; a trundle-bed, a feather bed, a twilt (*quilt*), a happing (*coverlet*), and a bolſter; a ſtand-bed, a feather-bed, a mattreſs, a pair of blankets, a red covering, a bolſter, and curtains; eight cods, and eight pillow-beres; ſeven pair of linen ſheets; eight pair of ſtrakin (*a ſort of kerſey*) ſheets; ſix pair of harden (*hempen*) ſheets; thirteen yards of diaper tabling; ten yards and a half of table-cloth; twenty-one yards of towelling; four hand towels; two dozen napkins; five pillow-beres; two head ſheets; a pair of blankets; two 'overſe' beds, and three curtains; a cupboard; a table, with a carpet; a counter, with a carpet; a Dantzic cheſt; a bond cheſt; a bond coffer; an ambry; a long ſettle, and a chair; three buffet ſtools; a little ſtool; two forms; red hangings; a painted cloth; three cheſts; a ſtand-bed, a pair of blankets, two ſheets, a covering, and two cods; an 'ambre call.'" In 1567, the parlour at Beaumont Hill, a gentleman's houſe in the north, contained the following furniture:—"One trundle bed, with a feather bed; two coverlets, a bolſter, two blankets, two carpet table cloths, two coverlets, one preſſer, a little table, one cheſt, three chairs, and three forms." In other inventories, down to the end of the century, we find the parlour continuing to be ſtored in this indiſcriminate manner.

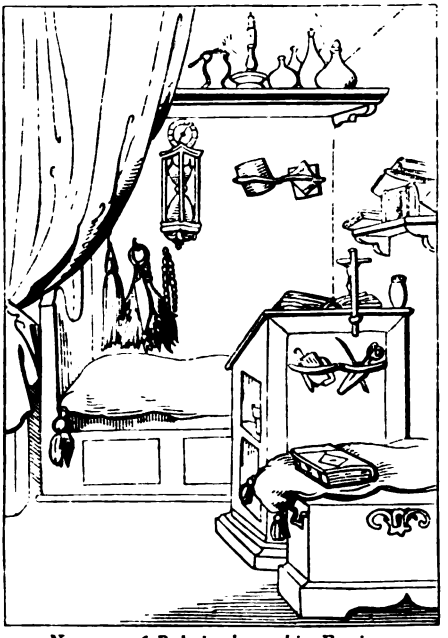
This

This period alſo differs from former periods in the much greater number of beds, and greater abundance of bed-furniture, we find in the houſes. We have often ſeveral beds in one chamber. Few of the principal bedrooms had leſs than two beds. The form of the bedſtead was now almoſt univerſally that with four poſts. Still in the engravings of the ſixteenth century, we find the old couch-bed repreſented. Such appears to be the bed in our cut No. 300, taken from Whitney's "Emblems," an Engliſh book printed at Leyden in 1586. We have here

No. 300. *A Dying Man and his Treaſures.*

another, and rather a late example, of the manner in which money was hoarded up in cheſts in the chambers. The couch-bed is ſtill more diſtinctly ſhown in our cut No. 301, taken from Albert Durer's print of St. Jerome, dated in 1511. This print is remarkable for its detail of the furniture of a bed-chamber, and eſpecially for the manner in which the various ſmaller articles are arranged and ſuſpended to the walls. Not the leaſt remarkable of theſe articles is the ſingular combination of a clock and an hour glaſs, which is placed againſt the wall as a time-piece. This ſeems, however, to have been not uncommon. A time-piece of the ſame kind is repreſented in our cut No. 302, which is taken from a print of St. Jerome at prayer, by Hans Springen Kelle, without date, but evidently

evidently belonging to the earlier half of the ſixteenth century. The



No. 301. *A Bed-chamber and its Furniture.*

method of ſuſpending or attaching to the walls the ſmaller articles in common uſe, ſuch as ſciſſors, bruſhes, pens, papers, &c., is here the ſame as in the former. Our next cut (No. 303), from a print by Aldegraver, dated in 1553, repreſents evidently a large four-poſt bedſtead, which is remarkable for its full and flowing curtains. The plate appears here to be kept in the bed-chamber. Cheſts, cupboards, preſſes, &c., become now very numerous in the bedrooms, and we begin to meet with tables and chairs more frequently. In 1567, the principal chamber in the houſe of Mrs. Elizabeth Hutton,

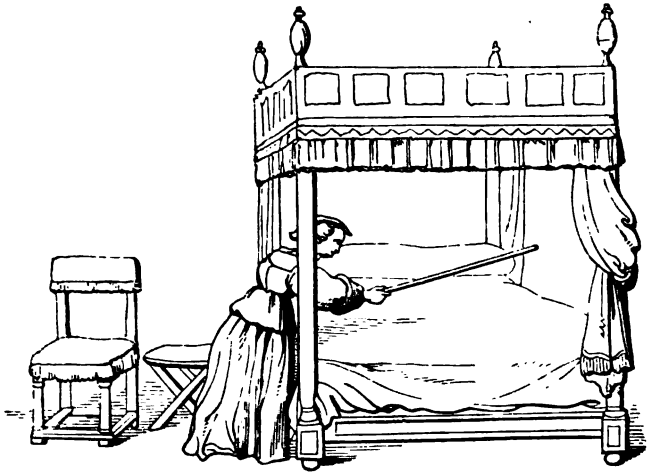
No. 302. *A Time-piece, &c.*

Hutton, at Hunwick, contained the following articles:—"In napery, in linen ſheets, ſixteen pair; certain old harden (*hempen*) ſheets, and ſixteen pillowberes; two Dantzic cheſts, a little cheſt bound with iron, a candle cheſt, and another old cheſt; a preſs with two floors and five doors; a folding table, ſeven little cuſhions, and two long cuſhions of crool (*a ſort of fine worſted*) wrought with the needle, and a carpet cloth

No. 303. *A Bed of the Sixteenth Century.*

that is in working with crools for the ſame; ſix feather beds, with ſix bolſters, and a coarſe feather-bed tick; eight mattreſſes, and nine bolſters; twelve pillows, twelve pair of blankets, and ſix happings; twenty coverlets, three coverings for beds of tapeſtry, and two of dornix (*Tournay*); a carpet cloth of tapeſtry work, five yards long, and a quarter deep; five ſtanding beds, with cords; two teſters with curtains of ſaye, and two teſters with curtains of crool." In the principal chamber in the houſe of lady

lady Catherine Hedworth, in 1568, the following furniture is enumerated:—"One truſſing bed, one feather bed, one pair of blankets, one pair of ſheets, one bolſter, one pillow with a houſewife's covering, four pillows, two Flanders cheſts, one almery, two cupboards, three coffers, two cupboard ſtools, three buffet forms, one little buffet ſtool, two little coffers, five mugs, three old cuſhions." The principal chamber of Thomas Sparke, ſuffragan biſhop of Berwick, whoſe goods were appraiſed in 1572, was furniſhed with the following articles:—"A ſtand-bed, with a teſtron of red ſaye and fringe, and a truckle-bed; a Cypres cheſt, a Flanders cheſt, a deſk, three buffet ſtools; the ſaid chamber hung with red ſaye." At Crook Hall, in the ſuburbs of Durham, in 1577, the principal chamber



No. 304. *A Bed of the Seventeenth Century.*

contained three beds; another chamber contained four beds; and a third two beds. Theſe liſts furniſh good illuſtrations of the various prints from which we have already given ſome ſketches.

Our cut No. 304 repreſents the uſual form of the bedſtead in the ſeventeenth century, and the proceſs of "making" the bed; it is taken from a print by the French artiſt, Abraham Boſſe, of the date 1631.

Another

Another of his prints, of the ſame date, has furniſhed us with a ſketch of a bedroom party (cut No. 305), which is no unapt illuſtration of domeſtic manners in the ſeventeenth century. It repreſents a cuſtom which prevailed eſpecially in France. A woman, after childbirth, kept her room in ſtate, and with great ceremony, and received there daily her female acquaintances, who paſſed the afternoon in goſſip. This practice, and

No. 305. *A Bedroom Party.*

eſpecially the converſation which took place at it, were frequent ſubjects of popular ſatire, and formed the groundwork of one of the moſt celebrated books of the reign of Louis XIII., entitled "Les Caquets de l'Accouchée," firſt publiſhed in 1622. An edition of this curious ſatire has been recently publiſhed by M. Ed. Fournier, in the introduction to which, as well as in the text, the reader will find abundant information on this ſubject.

CHAPTER XXIII.

OCCUPATIONS OF THE LADIES.—GAMES AND ENJOYMENTS.—ROUGHNESS OF ENGLISH SPORTS AT THIS PERIOD.—THE HOT-HOUSES, OR BATHS.—THE ORDINARIES.—DOMESTIC PETS.—TREATMENT OF CHILDREN.—METHODS OF LOCOMOTION.—CONCLUSION.

DURING the period at which we are now arrived, almoſt all the relations of domeſtic life underwent a great change, and nothing hardly could produce a wider difference than that between the manners and ſentiments of the reign of Henry VII., and thoſe of Charles II. This was eſpecially obſervable in the occupations of the female ſex, which were becoming more and more frivolous. At the earlier portion of the period referred to, women in general were confined cloſely to their domeſtic labours, in ſpinning, weaving, embroidering, and other work of a ſimilar kind. A hand-loom was almoſt a neceſſary article of furniture in a well regulated houſehold, and ſpinning was ſo univerſal an occupation, that we read ſometimes of an apartment in the houſe ſet apart for it—a family ſpinning room. Even to this preſent day, in legal language, the only occupation acknowledged, as that of an unmarried woman, is that of a ſpinſter. Our cut (No. 306) repreſents a party of ladies at their domeſtic labours; it is taken from Iſrael van Mechelin's print of "The Virgin Aſcending the Steps of the Temple," where this domeſtic ſcene is introduced in a ſide compartment.

No. 306. *Ladies at Work.*

Two

Two are engaged at the diſtaff, the old poetical emblem of the ſex. Another is cutting out the cloth for working, with a pair of ſhears of very antiquated form. The ſhape of the three-cornered joined chair in this group is worthy of remark. The female in our cut No. 307 is alſo ſeated in a chair of rather peculiar conſtruction, though it has occurred before at an earlier period (cut No. 245, p. 375), and we meet with it again in our next cut (No. 308). It is what was ſometimes called a folding chair. This cut is taken from one of the illuſtrations to the Engliſh edition of Eraſmus's "Praiſe of Folly," printed in 1676, but it is a copy of the

No. 307. *A Lady at the Loom.*

earlier originals. The great weaving eſtabliſhments in England appear to have commenced in the ſixteenth century, with the Proteſtant refugees from France and the Netherlands.

The old domeſtic games continued to be practiſed in the middle and upper claſſes of ſociety, although they were rather extenſively ſuperſeded by the pernicious rage for gambling which now prevailed throughout Engliſh ſociety. This practice had been extending itſelf ever ſince the beginning of the fifteenth century, and had been accompanied with another evil practice among the ladies, that of drinking. It need hardly be obſerved that theſe two vices furniſhed conſtant themes to the dramatiſts and

and ſatiriſts of the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries; the example ſet by the court under James I. cauſed them to increaſe greatly, and they

No. 308. *A Party of Ladies.*

roſe to the higheſt pitch of extravagance under Charles II. Barclay's

No. 309. *A Gamblers' Diſpute.*

"Ship of Fools" (the early Engliſh edition) has furniſhed us with the group

group of female gameſters, repreſented in our cut No. 308. It will be ſeen that the ladies are playing with cards and dice, and that the ale jug is introduced as an accompaniment. In fact we muſt look upon it as a tavern party, and the round table, as far as we can judge, appears to be fixed in the ground. The ſame book furniſhes us with an illuſtration (cut No. 309), in which two gamblers are quarrelling over a game at backgammon. A child is here the jug-bearer or guardian of the liquor.

No. 310. *A Party at Dice.*

Our cut No. 310 repreſents a gambling ſcene of a rather later period, taken from Whitney's "Emblems," printed in 1586; dice are here the implements of play.

A very curious piece of painted glaſs, now in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Fairholt, of German manufacture, and forming part, apparently, of a ſeries illuſtrative of the hiſtory of the Prodigal Son, repreſents a party of gamblers, of the earlier part of the ſixteenth century, in which they are playing with two dice. It is copied in our cut No. 311. The original bears the inſcription, "*Jan Van Haſſell Tryngen ſin hausfrau,*" with a merchant's mark, and the date, 1532. Three dice, however, continued to be uſed long after this, and are, from time to time, alluded to during the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries.

I have, in a former chapter, traced the hiſtory of playing-cards down to the latter half of the fifteenth century. After that time, they are frequently

frequently mentioned. They formed the common amuſement in the courts of Scotland and England under the reigns of Henry VII. and James IV.; and it is recorded that when the latter monarch paid his firſt

No. 311. *A Gambling Party of the Sixteenth Century.*

viſit to his affianced bride, the young princeſs Margaret of England, "he founde the quene playing at the cardes."

In Germany at this time card-playing was carried to an extravagant degree, and it became an object of attack and ſatire to the reformers among the clergy. Our cut No. 312 repreſents a German card-party in a tavern, taken from an early painted coffer in the Muſeum of Old German Art at Nuremberg. The deſign of the cards is that of packs of fancifully ornamented cards made in Germany at the cloſe of the fifteenth century. The German ſatiriſts of that age complain that the rage for gambling

gambling had taken poſſeſſion of all claſſes of ſociety, and levelled all ranks, ages, and ſexes; that the noble gambled with the commoner, and the clergy with the laity. Some of the clerical reformers declared that card-playing as well as dice was a deadly ſin, and others complained

No. 312. *Cards early in the Sixteenth Century.*

that this love of gambling had cauſed people to forget all honourable purſuits.

A ſimilar outcry was raiſed in our own country; and a few years later it aroſe equally loud. A ſhort anonymous poem on the ruin of the realm, belonging apparently to the earlier part of the reign of Henry VIII. (MS. Harl. No. 2252, fol. 25, v°), complains of the nobles and gentry:—

Before thys tyme they lovyd for to juſte,
And in ſhotynge chefely they ſett ther mynde,
And ther landys and poſſeſſyons now ſett they moſte,
And at cardes and dyce ye may them ffynde.

"Cardes and dyce" are from this time forward ſpoken of as the great blot on contemporary manners; and they ſeem for a long time to have driven moſt other games out of uſe. Roy, in his remarkable ſatire againſt cardinal Wolſey, complains that the biſhops themſelves were addicted to gambling:—

To

To play at the cardes and dyce
Some of theym are no thynge nyce,
Both at haſard and mom-chaunce.

The rage for cards and dice prevailed equally in Scotland. Sir David Lindſay's popiſh parſon, in 1535, boaſts of his ſkill in theſe games:—

Thoch I preich nocht, I can play at the caiche;
I wot there is nocht ane amang yow all
Mair ferylie can play at the fute-ball;
And for the cartis, the tabels, and the dyſe,
Above all parſouns I may beir the pryſe.

The ſame celebrated writer, in a poem againſt cardinal Beaton, repreſents that prelate as a great gambler:—

In banketting, playing at cartis and dyce,
Into ſic wyſedome I was haldin wyſe,
And ſpairit nocht to play with king nor knicht
Thre thouſand crownes of golde upon ane night.

Though gardening and horticulture in general, as arts, were undergoing conſiderable improvement during this period, the garden itſelf appears to have been much more neglected, except as far as it was the ſcene of other paſtimes. A bowling-green was the moſt important part of the pleaſure garden in the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries; and bowls, and exerciſes of a ſimilar character, were the favourite amuſements of all claſſes. The gardens themſelves, which were apart from the houſe, and made more retired by lofty walls encloſing them, were uſually adorned with alcoves and ſummer-houſes, or, as they were then more uſually termed, garden-houſes, but theſe were chiefly celebrated, eſpecially in the ſeventeenth century, as places of intrigue. There are continual alluſions to this uſage in the popular writers of the time. Thus, one of the perſonages in Beaumont and Fletcher's "Woman Hater" exclaims, "This is no garden-houſe: in my conſcience ſhe went forth with no diſhoneſt intent." And, in the play of the "Mayor of Quinſborough,"—

Poor ſoul, ſhe's entic'd forth by her own ſex
To be betray'd to man, who in ſome garden-houſe,
Or remote walk, taking his luſtful time,
Binds darkneſs on her eyes, ſurpriſes her.

A character in another old play, "The London Prodigal," ſeeking employment of a rather equivocal character, ſays, "Now God thank you, ſweet lady, if you have any friend, or garden-houſe, where you may employ a poor gentleman as your friend, I am yours to command in all ſecret ſervice."

Amid the gaiety which was ſo eſpecially characteriſtic of this age, a ſpirit of vulgar barbarity had ariſen and ſpread itſelf very widely, and the popular games moſt practiſed were in general coarſe and cruel. A foreign writer already quoted, but one who was evidently a very unprejudiced obſerver, has left us ſome rather amuſing remarks on this ſubject which are worthy of being repeated. "The Engliſh," he ſays, "have games which are peculiar to them, or at leaſt which they affect and practiſe more than people do elſewhere. To ſee cocks fight is a royal pleaſure in England. Their combats of bulls and dogs, of bears and dogs, and ſometimes of bulls and bears, are not combats to the laſt gaſp, like thoſe of cocks. Everything that is called fighting is a delicious thing to an Engliſhman. If two little boys quarrel in a ſtreet, the paſſers ſtop, make in a moment a ring round them, and encourage them to ſettle it by blows of the fiſt. If it comes to fighting, each takes off his cravat and his jacket, and gives them in charge to one of the company; then begin the blows of the fiſt, in the face if poſſible, the blows of the foot on their ſhins, the pulling of one another by the hair, &c. The one who has knocked the other down, may give him one blow or two when he is down, but no more, and every time the one who is down will riſe, the other muſt return to the combat as long as he pleaſes. During the combat, the circle of ſpectators encourage the combatants to the great joy of their hearts, and never ſeparate them, ſo long as things are done according to rule. And theſe ſpectators are not only other children, and ſtreet porters, but all ſorts of reſpectable people, ſome of whom make their way through the crowd to ſee nearer, others mount upon the ſhops, and all would pay for places, if ſtages could be built up in a moment. The fathers and mothers of the little boys who are fighting look on like the others, and encourage the one who gives way, or is wanting in ſtrength. Theſe kind of combats are leſs frequent among grown-up men

than among children, but they are not uncommon. If the driver of a hackney-coach has a diſpute about his fare, with a gentleman whom he has carried, and the gentleman offers to ſettle the diſpute by fighting, the coachman agrees to it willingly. The gentleman takes off his ſword, diſpoſes of it in ſome ſhop with his walking-ſtick, his gloves, and his cravat, and fights in the manner I have deſcribed. If the coachman is well beaten, which is almoſt always the caſe, he is conſidered as paid; but if he beats, he who is beaten muſt pay the ſum that was in queſtion, and that which cauſed the quarrel. I once ſaw the late duke of Grafton fighting in the open ſtreet in the middle of the Strand with a coachman, whom he thraſhed in a terrible manner. In France, we treat ſuch kind of people with blows of a ſtick or, ſometimes, of the flat of the ſword; but in England that is never done; they never uſe a ſword or ſtick againſt thoſe who are not ſimilarly armed; and if any unlucky foreigner (for it would never come into the mind of an Engliſhman) ſhould ſtrike with the ſword any one who had not got one, it is certain that in an inſtant a hundred perſons would fall upon him, and perhaps beat him ſo that he would never recover. Wreſtling is alſo one of the diverſions of the Engliſh, eſpecially in the northern provinces. Ringing the bells is one of their great pleaſures, eſpecially in the country; there is a way of doing it, but their peal is quite different from thoſe of Holland and the Low Countries. In winter football is a uſeful and charming exerciſe; it is a ball of leather, as large as a man's head, and filled with wind; it is toſſed with the feet in the ſtreets. To expoſe a cock in a place, and kill it at a diſtance of forty or fifty paces with a ſtick, is alſo a very diverting thing; but this pleaſure only belongs to a certain ſeaſon. This alſo is the caſe with the dances of the milkwomen, with the throwing at one another of tennis-balls by girls, and with divers other little exerciſes." Such was the rude character of the amuſement of all claſſes of our population during the ſeventeenth century.

The ladies ſtill had their houſehold pets, though they varied ſometimes in their character, which perhaps aroſe in ſome meaſure from the circumſtance that the diſcovery of or increaſed communication with diſtant countries, brought the knowledge of animals and birds which were not

not ſo well known before. Thus, in the ſixteenth century, monkeys appear to have been much in faſhion as domeſtic favourites, and we not unfrequently find them in prints in attendance upon ladies. Since the diſcovery of the Weſt Indies, and the voyages of the Portugueſe to the coaſt of Africa, parrots had become much more common than formerly. In pictures of the period of which we are ſpeaking, we often find theſe, as well as ſmaller domeſtic birds, in cages of various forms. In our cut No. 313, taken from Whitney's "Emblems" (printed in 1585), we have a parrot in its cage, and a ſmall bird (perhaps meant for a canary), the latter of which is drawing up its water to drink in a manner which has been practiſed in modern times, and ſuppoſed to be a novelty. It is very unſafe indeed to aſſume that any ingenious contrivances of this kind are modern, for we often meet with them unexpectedly at a comparatively early date.

No. 313. *Birds and Birdcage.*

With the multiplicity of new faſhions in dreſs now introduced, the work of the toilette became much greater and more varied, and many cuſtoms were introduced from France, from Italy, and from the Eaſt. Among cuſtoms derived from the latter quarter, was the introduction of the eaſtern hot and ſweating baths, which became for a conſiderable period common in England. They were uſually known by the plain Engliſh name of *hothouſes*, but their eaſtern origin was alſo ſometimes indicated by the preſervation of their Perſian name of *hummums*. This name is ſtill retained by the two modern hotels which occupy the ſites of eſtabliſhments of this deſcription in Covent Garden. Sweating in hothouſes is ſpoken of by Ben Jonſon; and a character in the old play of "The Puritan," ſpeaking of a laborious undertaking, ſays, "Marry, it will take me much ſweat; I were better go to ſixteen *hothouſes*." They ſeem to have been moſtly frequented by women, and became, as in the Eaſt, favourite places of rendezvous for goſſip and company. They were ſoon uſed to ſuch an extent for illicit intrigues, that the name of a hothouſe or bagnio became equivalent to that of a brothel; and this circumſtance probably

probably led eventually to their diſuſe. A very rare and curious broadſide woodcut of the reign of James I., entitled "Tittle-tattle, or the ſeveral branches of goſſipping," which in different compartments repreſents pictorially the way in which the women of that age idled away their time, gives in one part a ſketch of the interior of a hothouſe, which is copied in our cut No. 314. In one diviſion of the hothouſe the ladies are bathing in tubs, while they are indulging themſelves with an abundance of very ſubſtantial dainties; in the other, they appear to be ſtill more buſily engaged in goſſip. The whole broadſide is a ſingularly

No. 314. *A Hothouſe.*

intereſting illuſtration of contemporary manners. A copy of it will be found in the print-room of the Britiſh Muſeum; and it may be remarked (which I think has not been obſerved before), that it is copied from a large French etching of about the ſame period, a copy of which is in the print department of the Imperial Library in Paris.

This is ſufficient to ſhow the cloſe reſemblance at this time between manners in France and in England. In the former country, the reſort of women in company to the hot-baths is not unfrequently alluded to, and their behaviour and converſation there are deſcribed in terms of ſatire which cannot always be transferred to our modern pages. In theſe popular

popular ſatires, the bathers are ſometimes *chambrières*, and at others good *bourgeoiſes*. The pic-nics, which had formerly taken place at the tavern, were now transferred to the hot-bath, each of a party of bathers carrying ſome contribution to the feaſt, which they ſhared in common. Thus, in the popular piece entitled "Le Banquet des Chambrières fait aux Eſtuves," printed in 1541, it is the chamber-maidens who go to the bath, and they begin immediately to produce their contributions, one exclaiming—

——j'ay du porc frais,
Une andouille et quatre ſaulcices.

To which a ſecond adds,—

——j'aye une cottelette,
Qui le ventre quaſi m'eſchaulde.

And a third,—

Moy, un paſté à ſauce chaulde.

The women are ſeen eating their pic-nic feaſt in one compartment of our cut. This practice ſoon paſſed from the ſervant maids of the bourgeoiſie to their miſtreſſes, and from the burghers' wives to ladies of higher condition. Our word pic-nic, repreſenting the French *piquenique*, the origin or derivation of which word ſeems not to be clearly known, appears to have come into uſe at the latter end of the laſt century, when people of rank formed evening parties at which they joined in ſuch pic-nic ſuppers, to which each brought his or her contribution. The term is now applied almoſt ſolely to ſuch collations in the fields, or in the open air.

We have already ſeen how, at an earlier period, men of a ſuperior rank in London, and probably in at leaſt the larger country towns, lived much in the taverns and cooks' ſhops or eating-houſes. This practice continued, and underwent various modifications, the principal of which was the eſtabliſhment of houſes where a public table was ſerved at fixed hours, at which a gentleman could take his place on payment of a certain ſum, much in the ſame ſtyle as our modern *tables d'hôte*. Gradually theſe eſtabliſhments became gambling-houſes, and men ſettled down after dinner to cards, dice, and other games. They were called ordinaries, and

in

in the reign of Elizabeth they had become an important part of the ſocial ſyſtem. It was here that people went to hear the news of the day, or the talk of the town, and to frequent the ordinary became gradually conſidered as a neceſſary part of the education of a gentleman of faſhion. At the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, the uſual price of an ordinary appears to have been two ſhillings; but there were ordinaries at eighteen-pence, and at ſome faſhionable ordinaries the price was much higher.

The general treatment of children, their coſtume, and their amuſements, remained much as formerly, and cloſely reſembled thoſe of France and Germany as they were then, and as they have exiſted in ſome parts even to our own days. The pernicious practice of ſwathing or ſwaddling the child as ſoon as it was born prevailed everywhere, and the infant was kept in this condition until it became neceſſary to teach it the uſe of its

No. 315. *Swaddling a Child.*

limbs. The proceſs of ſwaddling is ſhown in our cut No. 315, taken from one of the prints by Boſſe, publiſhed in 1633, which furniſh ſuch abundant illuſtration of contemporary manners. The period during which boys were kept in petticoats was very ſhort, for at a very early age they were dreſſed in the ſame dreſs as up-grown people, like little miniature men. Our only repreſentatives of the appearance of little boys in the ſixteenth century, is found in one or two educational eſtabliſhments, ſuch as the Blue-Coat School in London. The coſtume of a child during the ſhort tranſition

tranſition period between his ſwathes and his breeches is repreſented in our cut No. 316, of a boy riding upon his wooden horſe. It is taken from a German woodcut of the date of 1549.

In the ſixteenth century little improvement had taken place in the means of locomotion, which was ſtill performed generally on horſeback. Coaches, by that name, are ſaid to have been introduced into England only towards the middle of the ſixteenth century. They were made in various forms and ſizes, according to faſhion or caprice, and towards the end of the century they were divided into two claſſes, known by the foreign names of *coaches* and *caroches*. The latter appear to have been larger and clumſier than the former, but to have been conſidered more ſtately; and from the old play of "Tu Quoque," by Green (a drama of Elizabeth's reign), we learn that it was conſidered more appropriate to the town (and probably to the court), while the *coach* was left to the country: —

No. 316. *A Boy a-cock-horſe.*

> *Nay, for a need, out of his eaſy nature,*
> *May'ſt draw him to the keeping of a coach*
> *For country, and carroch for London.*

Ben Jonſon, in his comedy of "The Devil is an Aſs," gives us a great notion of the buſtle attending a *caroch*:—

> *Have with them for the great caroch, ſix horſes,*
> *And the two coachmen, with my ambler bare,*
> *And my three women.*

Coaches of any kind, however, were evidently not in very common uſe until after the beginning of the ſeventeenth century. Women in general, at leaſt thoſe who were not ſkilful horſewomen, when the diſtance or any other circumſtance precluded their going on foot, rode on a pillion or ſide-ſaddle behind a man, one of her relatives or friends, or ſometimes a ſervant

ſervant. The accompanying cut (No. 317) repreſents a couple thus mounted, the lady holding in her hand the kind of fan which was uſed at the period. From a compariſon of the figure of the Anglo-Saxon ladies on horſeback, who were evidently ſeated in the ſaddle as in a chair, ſideways to the horſe, we are led to ſuppoſe that the Anglo-Saxon lady's ſaddle, and probably the ſaddle for females in general during the middle ages, was the ſame as that which was known in the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries, by the name of a pillion. The rider placed her feet uſually on a narrow board, which was called in French the *planchette.*

No. 317. *Riding on a Pillion.*

It is evident that a woman could not be very ſolidly ſeated in this manner, and not only did ſhe want the command over the horſe which would enable her to take part in any very active exerciſes, but it was conſidered almoſt neceſſary to place a man on a ſaddle before her. We have, accordingly, ſeen that, from a very early period, when engaged in hunting and in any ſort of active riding, the lady uſed a ſaddle, as at preſent, in which ſhe raiſed one leg over a part of the ſaddle-bow, made for that purpoſe, and placed the other foot in the ſtirrup, by which ſhe obtained a firm ſeat, and a command over the horſe. Different writers have aſcribed, without any reaſon, the introduction of this mode of riding for

for ladies to various individuals, and Brantôme ſeems to have thought that this practice was firſt brought into faſhion by Catherine de Medicis. The laſt cut is taken from a drawing in the curious Album of Charles de Bouſy, containing dates from 1608 to 1638, and now preſerved among the Sloane manuſcripts (No. 3415) in the Britiſh Muſeum; and the ſame manuſcript has alſo furniſhed us with the annexed cut (No. 318) of a lady of rank carried in her chair, with her chair-bearers and attendants. Ladies, and eſpecially perſons ſuffering from illneſs, were often carried in horſe-litters, and there are inſtances of chairs mounted ſomewhat like the

No. 318. *A Lady carried in her Chair.*

one here repreſented, and carried by horſes. The firſt attempt towards the modern gig or cabriolet appears to have been a chair fixed in a cart, ſomething in the ſtyle of that repreſented in our cut No. 319, which in its ornamentation has a very mediæval character, although it is given as from a manuſcript in the Imperial Library in Paris (No. 6808), of the beginning of the ſixteenth century.

The cloſe of the period of which we are here ſpeaking introduces us to one in which the manners and cuſtoms of our forefathers were leſs widely different from thoſe of our own days; and the hiſtory of domeſtic manners ſince that time, characteriſed leſs by broad outline of the general

features in its revolutions than by a gradual ſucceſſion of minute changes, and faſhions which muſt be traced from day to day, is leſs capable of being treated in the comprehenſive ſtyle of theſe pages. Having now, therefore, brought down our ſketch of the Hiſtory of the Domeſtic Manners

No. 319. *A Mediæval Cabriolet.*

of our forefathers to the middle of the ſeventeenth century, we ſhall here, for the reaſon juſt ſtated, conclude it, and leave to ſome worthier labourer, or to ſome future occaſion, the taſk of tracing more minutely the hiſtory of domeſtic manners and ſentiments during the period which followed the middle ages.

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